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EDITORIAL

It is a matter of great pleasure for the faculty-members of the Department of Pali that they are to release, for the first time, the Journal of the Department of Pali containing learned papers from scholars of India and abroad on the most auspicious occasion of the 125th foundation anniversary of the University.

Since the introduction of Pali studies in A. C. 1880-81, the formation of the Post-Graduate Department of Pali in 1907 in its nucleus stage, and the establishment of the full-fledged Department in 1917 by the University of Calcutta this subject as one of the classical languages of India has gradually been popular among the scholars who have been realising its distinct position in the Indo-Aryan family of languages and its hitherto little known importance of Buddhist Culture. It should be mentioned here that in establishing an independent Department of Pali the objective of our University was "to open out to its advanced students an opportunity for a comprehensive study of that distinct and widespread civilization which Buddhism represented. Buddhist civilization has to be approached from such varied aspects as linguistic, literary, epigraphic, social, religious, historical and philosophical. The original sources of knowledge in this regard are accessible through such languages as Pali, Prakrit, Mixed Sanskrit, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese. It was, therefore, necessary that there should be a central department specially intended to guide studies and conduct researches in Buddhism and the Pali department was given that role" (*Hundred Years of the University of Calcutta—Supplement*, pp. 160—161). Hence the syllabus for the M. A. Examination in Pali with the emphasis on its linguistic aspect was designed in such a way so that the students could acquire the capacity for a comparative study of the different facets of Buddhism, e. g. its origin as well as development in and outside India, art, philosophy, and its impact on Indian Culture as a whole. The same syllabus with obviously some modifications has still been followed. Of the eight papers included in the syllabus, at present, for post-graduate students, five are compulsory and they are con-

cerned with the study of different aspects of the Pali language and Buddhism. The remaining three papers are devoted to one of the four groups of studies, viz. (A) Early Buddhist Literature and Philosophy; (B) Mahāyāna Literature and Philosophy (including Bengal and Orissan Buddhism); (C) Epigraphy, Iconography, Art, and Archaeology and; (D) Asian Buddhism.

In some Indian Universities Pali, which is one of the optional subjects for the Civil Services Examinations conducted by the Union Public Service Commission and Public Service Commissions of some States of India, has been taught as a separate discipline. But the credit goes to our University for introducing for the first time in India this classical language like Sanskrit, Prakrit, Arabic or Persian as an independent subject of study; establishing a Chair in this discipline for the appointment of Benimadhab Barua who became the first Asian to obtain the Degree of Doctor of Literature from the University of London; and developing this Department with the erudite services of Dharmananda Kosambi, Satiscandra Vidyābhusana who became the first student to obtain the M. A. Degree in Pali in 1901, Nalinaksha Dutt who also got the D. Litt. Degree from the University of London, Śramaṇa Pūrṇānanda Svāmī who jointly rendered the Visuddhimagga into Bengali, Sailendranath Mitra who earned his reputation for new interpretations of the inscriptions of Asoka and became the Secretary of the Post-Graduate Councils of Arts and Science, Anukul-Chandra Banerjee who is well-known for his work on the Sarvāstivāda Literature, Gokuldas De who wrote learned publications on the Buddhist Saṅgha and the Jātakas, Dwijendralal Barua who had edited the Cariyāpiṭaka Commentary for the Pali Text Society, London, as well as written a book on Pali Grammar, and Prabhash-Chandra Majumder edited the Maitreyavyākaraṇa and also became the Secretary of the Post-Graduate Councils of Arts, Commerce, and Education. With their academic distinctions and able leadership the Department of Pali has now been placed on its firm footing. Today on this memorable occasion the Department acknowledges with deep regards the services rendered by the former teachers, research fellows, scholars and students for the cause of the advancement of Pali and Buddhist learning in the Indian sub continent. Incidentally mention may be made here, with much respect, of Harinath De, the great linguist, who had also passed the M. A. Examination in Pali in 1906. The present teachers and students of the Department also being inspired by their predecessors are endeavouring to uphold the same cause through their deliberations and learned papers submitted to the national and international seminars, conferences and workshops.

Avyākata-vatthūni

Rev. Dhammadhara Mahathera

Bhagavato Buddhassa dhamme aviññuno ekacce paṇḍitā maññanti Māluṅkyaputtassa pucchāya paccuttaram adavā Buddhō issarakataṃ vādaṃ ca attano vādaṃ tuṇhi-bhāvena sammati adāsi. Yebhuyyena paṇḍitā mūlasuttṃ apassivā'pi evarūpaṃ vadanti. Majjhima nikāyassa majjhima-pañṇāsake dutiyavagge tatiyaṃ Cūlamāluṅkya Suttaṃ nāma vijjati. Pariyesakā passissanti tasmīṃ sutte issarassa Kiñcimattaṃ ullekhaṃ pi natthi. Te pana pañhā :

“Sassato loko'tipi, asassato loko'tipi, antavā loko'tipi, anantavā loko'tipi, taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ Sarīrantipi, aññāṃ jīvaṃ aññāṃ sarīrantipi, hoti Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇatipi, na hoti Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇātipi, hoti ca na ca hoti Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇātipi, neva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇātipi.

Imesu dasasu pañhesu paṭhamacattāro nāma lokasambandhaṃ pañhaṃ. Loka-sambandhe Aṅguttara nikāye vuttaṃ hoti :—

lokacintā bhikkhave, acinteyyā, na cintetabbā, yaṃ cinto ummā-dassa vighātassa bhāgī assā. [Catukka-nipāto].

Pañcamam ca Chaṭṭhaṃ pañhaṃ jīvaṃ ca sarīraṃ sandhāya pucchitā honti. Athavā attāno ca dehassa bhedaṃ bhedaṃ paṭicca vuccati. Attavādaṃ Buddhena bhagavata patikkhittaṃ hoti. Attānaṃ sandhāya Majjhimanikāye Paṭhama pañṇāsake vuttaṃ :—

“Ayaṃ me yo attā anubhavassa katta hoti, tasmīṃ tasmīṃ thāne attāno sukata dukkata kammaṃ phalaṃ—anubhavati so me attā nicco, dhuvo, sassato, aparivatti-dhammo; anantavassaṃ ekena rūpeṇa thassatīti bhikkhave, imaṃ kevalaṃ paripuṇṇaṃ vāladhammaṃ ca mūḷha-vissāsa -mattanti. [1/1/2].

Buddho sayaṃ yasmā anattāvadī ahosi tasmā jīvassa ca dehassa bhedaṃ bhedaṃ vā sambandhaṃ tena paṭipāditabbaṃ na hoti.

Pacchime cattāro pañhe vimuttapurisānaṃ arahantānaṃ maraṇato paraṃ kiṃ gatīṃ hoti tameva pucchati.

Tikāyaṃ pana vuccati—‘imesu dasasu vatthūsu paṭhamena Dīghanikāye Brahmaṇāla-sutte vuttaṃ catubbidhaṃ sassatavādaṃ pakāseti. Dutiyena sattavidhaṃ uccheda-vādaṃ dipeti. Tatiyaṃ dehe vijjānaṃ sasīmaṃ paricchinnaṃ ca attānaṃ sandhāya vaḍaṭi. Catutthena attānaṃ sabbattha-vyāpakataṃ vuccati. Pañcamena jīvattaṃ ca

paramattam ca abhinnabhāvaṃ vā advaya-vādaṃ dassitaṃ hoti. Chatthena dvayavādaṃ katheti. Satta-aṭṭha-navama-pañhaṃ pana maraṇato param attā vijjati, uddham gacchati ca vuccati. Etehi sassata-vādaṃ saññi-vādaṃ asaññi-vādaṃ padassati. Dasamena uccheda-vādaṃ ekāmsa-sassataṃ ekāmsa-ucchedaṃ vādaṃ ca amaravikkhepa-vādaṃ pakāseti’.

Imehi dasavatthūhi Brahmajāla-sutte vuttāni dvāsaṭṭhi-micchā-diṭṭhi-ṭhānāni pakāsentī yāni Buddha-sāsane sabbattha-pariccattāni honti.

Loko sassato vā hotu api ca asassato vā atthi eva sattānam jarā-vyādhī-maraṇaṃ Tehi jarā-maraṇa-dukkhehi m canatthāya Buddhena Bhagavatā ariya saccāni desitāni ca vyākātāni; seyyathidaṃ dukkhaṃ, dukkhasamudayaṃ, dukkha-nirodhaṃ ca dukkha-nirodha-gāminī patipadā ariyasaccam. Imam catu-sacca-vinimuttam nāma dhammam natthi.

Imesaṃ vatthūnam ārabha Bhagavatā saḍḍhim Vaccagotta paribbājakassa punarapī kathā-sallāpam ahoṣi. Tattha Vacca-gottapari-bbājako pabalataṃ manasaṃyōgam akari. Vimutta-citto bhikkhu maraṇato paraṃ kuhiṃ upajjati ?

Atha Buddho Bhagavā pajjalitaṃ aggim nibbāpanassa ‘udāharaṇaṃ adāsi. “Sace Vacca; tvam koci evaṃ puccheyya tava purato yo aggī nibbāpito ahoṣi so aggī puratthimaṃ vā dakkhinaṃ vā pacchimaṃ vā uttaraṃ disānaṃ kuhiṃ goṭṭi ? Atha tvaṃ kiṃ paccuttaraṃ karissasīti ? Vaccagotto āha :

“Bho gotama, nibbāpito aggī ito kuhiṃ ca gato’ti vattum na yujjati. Yāni pana tiṇa-kaṭṭhupādāni ālambitvā aggī pajjali, tesam upādānaṃ parikkhā ca abhinavaṃ aññaṃ upādānaṃ anāhārā anupadānato hutvā aggī nibbāpito’ti vattum yujjati.

Evameva telaṃ ca dasāṃ ca acciṃ ca paṭicca tiṇṇaṃ saṅgatiya dīpaṃ yathā jalati tatha kammaṃ ca kilesaṃ ca vipākaṃ ca paṭicca nāmarūpadhammā satta-santati rūpena pavāhanti eva. Yadā pana āsavānaṃ khayam hoti tadā tadā imāya nāma-rūparayā santatiyā anuppado nirodho hoti. Anattavādināṃ dhamme vimutta-cittānaṃ purisānaṃ maraṇato paraṃ kā gati hotīti viññūhi paccattaṃ veditabbā.

Imāni dasavatthūni diṭṭhi-samyo-janāni ca bandhanānīti vuccanti. Imesaṃ vyākaraṇena dukkhamuttiyā kiñcimattaṃ sahāyaṃ na hoti. Evarūpaṃ ādinavaṃ paccavekkhitvā imāni diṭṭhiṭhānāni Bhagavatā avyākātāni ca ṭhāpitāni honti. Imāni vatthūni na kevalaṃ akathaniyāni honti api ca anattakara-bhāvena paribajjitabbāni ca honti.

Kammam satte vibhajati

Silananda Brahmachari

Dissanti manussānaṃ eva satam mañussabhītānaṃ ekacce olubhaṇṇā ekacce vaṇṇavanto ekacce appabhogā ekacce mahābhogā ekacce appesakkhā ekacce mahesakkhā ekacce bālā ekacce buddhimantā. Evaṃ dissateṃ tesaṃ hinappaṇītātā. Ko nu kho hetu ko paccayo yena te tathā bhavanti ? Vuttaṃ hetam Bhagavatā Arhatā Sammāsambuddheṇa “Kammassakā mānavā sattā kammaḍāyādā kammayoni kamma-bandhū kammaपातिसाराणा, kammam satte Vibhajati yadidaṃ hiṇappaṇītātāyāti.”¹ Ettha kammameva hetu. Yathā khetto vuttaṃ bijam rūhati phalam pasavati, tathā sattena katham kammam vipaccati phalam jānēti. Sukatassa vipāko sukhāvaho dukkatassa ca vipāko dukkhāvaho.

Nanu idha ekacce pāpakammaṃ karontāpi yasabhoga-sampatti sukham viharanti ekacce ca dhammika dhammaparāyana hutvāpi dinā duggatā vyasanāsokaparetā honti ? Tasmā assutā puthujjanā kamma vipāke kaṅkhaṇtā vicikicchantā vādaṃ āropenti “yadi vijjati sukata dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalam vipāko, kasmā puñṇakāri dukkham pappoti pāpakāri vā sukham jīvati ?” Te vattabbā “yathā dohanakkhaṇeva khīraṃ na muccati, tathā kata kammampi karaṇakkhaṇeva na vipaccati, tassa niyāmatā vijjati”.

To etarahi dhammiko dhammaparāyano, so atite attabhāve pāpakammaṃ nākāsi ko vadeyya ? Yopi idāni pāpakāri adhammiko, so atite bhava akatapuñṇoti vattum na sakkā. Tasmā purisSESU attabhāvesu kata kusalākusalānaṃ kammānaṃ nissandena dhammiko vā dukkhappato pāpakāri vā sukhasaṃpanno bhavati. Nanu imasmiṃ eva attabhāve ekacco pāparato sappurisa saṃseneva duccharitaṃ pahāya dhammacāri samacāri hoti, dhammiko ca pāpamittaṃ pāpasa-

hāyaṃ āgama duccharitaṃ carati. Anamatagge saṃsāravaṭṭe evaṃ viparivattanaṃ kiṃ na bhaveyya ?

Na karaṇamatteneva kammaṃ. Sace karaṇacetanā natthi, kammaṃ na sampajjati. Maggaṃ pariyāpannassa pādena madditā bahu pāṇakā maraṇaṃ nigacchanti. Māranacetanāya abhāvena nahi tattha pāpaṃ pāṇātipaccayā. Ththā dinnampi na puññaṃ pasavati, yadi dānacetanā natthi. Tasmā cetanā yeva kammanti vuccati.

Padhānato kammaṃ kusalā-kusalabhedenā duvidhaṃ. Lobha-dosādīhi akusala dhammehi pariyuṭṭhitena cittaṇa kataṃ kammaṃ akusalaṃ nāma Tañca tividhaṃ hoti akusalaṃ kāyakammaṃ vacī-kammaṃ manakammaṃ ceti. Pāṇātipāto adinnādānaṃ kāmesu micchācāro ceti kāyaviññatti saṅkhāte kāyadvāre bāhultavuttito kāyakammaṃ nāma. Musāvādo pisuṇavācā pharusavācā samphappalāpo ceti vacivīññatti saṅkhāte vacīdvāre bāhullavuttito vacīkammaṃ nāma. Abhiijhā vyāpādo micchādīṭṭhi ceti vinā viññattiyā manasmi-meva bāhullavuttito manokammaṃ nāma Saddhā sati mettā karuṇādīhi sundara sobhana dhammehi uppanna cittaṇa kataṃ kammaṃ kusalaṃ nāma Taṃ kāmāvacara kusalaṃ rūpāvacara kusalaṃ arūpāvacara kusalaṃ ceti tividhaṃ pākāṭṭhānavasena. Kāmāvacara kusalaṃ kāyadvāre pavattaṃ kāya-kammaṃ vacīdvāre pavattaṃ vacīkammaṃ manodvāre pavattaṃ manokammaṃ ceti kammadvārasena tividhaṃ. Tathā dāna-sīlā bhāvanāvasena ca. Rūpāvacara kusalaṃ pana bhāvanāmayam appanāppattaṃ paṭhama-dutiyādi jhānabhedenā pañcavidhaṃ. Tathā arūpāvacara kusalaṃ pi bhāvanāmayam appanāppattaṃ ālambana-bhedenā catubbidhaṃ hoti.

Janakaṃ upatthambhakaṃ upaṇṇakaṃ upaghātaṃ ceti cattāri kammāni kiccabhedenā. Paṭisandhipavattivipākādāyakaṃ kusalākusala kammaṃ janaka-kammaṃ nāma janayati bhava uppattiṃ vidhāti iccatthena. Tassa kiccaṃ paṭisandhi dāna mattenā na nissesati, apica sattassa āmaraṇaṃ pavattati no ce bādhiyati aññena kammena. Yaṃ kammaṃ janaka kammaṃ upatthambhetaṃ paripāleti, taṃ upatthambhaka-kammaṃ nāma. Tappaccayā kusala-janaka kammena nibbattā

bhīyyo sukha-sobhaggam labhanti, akusala-janaka kammaṇa ca nibbattā bhīyyo dukkhadomanassappattā honti. Yaṃ kammaṃ janak-kammaṃ nipīleti bādheti athavā tena uppannaṃ sukhaṃ vā dukkhaṃ vā abhibhavati, taṃ upapīlaka-kammaṃ nāma. Taṃ kusala-janaka-kammaṇa jātassa sirisobhaggam antaradhāpetvā dukkha-dīnatam pavatteti, akusala-janaka-kammaṃ samussitam ca dukkha-domanassaṃ vināsetvā sukha-sobhaggam janeti. Yaṃ kammaṃ janaka kammaṇa phalaṃ upaghāteti upacchindati, taṃ upaghātaka-kammanti vuccati. Tena satto vātāhata-padīpo viya sahasā maraṇam nigacchati āyukkhayat, pubbatameva. Tasmā janaka-kammaṇa vipāka-kālo na labbhati.

Yathā kiccavasena tathā vipākādāna pariyāyen garukaṃ āsannaṃ āciṇṇam kaṭattā kammañceti cattāri kammāni. Kata kammaṇa yaṃ garutamam taṃ garuka-kammaṃ nāma. Akusalesu mātughāta pitughātādi mahāsāvajja mahāpātaka kam nāni tathā kusalesu aṭṭha samāpattiyo ca garuka-kammāni, yāni anantara bhava yeva vipaccanti. Na sakkā taṃ paṭivāhetum kenacideva kammaṇa. Yathā balavā puriso attano thāmena dubbale atikkamati, tathā garuka-kammaṃ attano balavanta-tāya aññe kamme abhimadditvā paṭhamataram vipaccati. Maraṇāsāṇnakāle kataṃ kusalākusalam āsanna kammaṃ nāma. Garuka-kamme vijjamāne āsanna kammaṃ tu maraṇāpannassa cittam ajjhogāhetvā tiṭṭhati. Tena taṃ paṭhametaram phalati. Tasmimpī asante āciṇṇam āsevītam kusalākusalam vipaccati. Taṃ āciṇṇa-kammaṃ nāma. Jivantena kammaṃ katameva kammaṃ akarato nāma koci natthi. Ettha vuttāni garukādīni tīni kammāni ṭhapetvā aparaṃ kataṃ kammaṃ katattā-kammaṃ nāma. Taṃ vipaccati aññesu tisu avijjamānesu.

Diṭṭhadhamma-vedaniyam upapajjavedaniyam aparāpariya-vedaniyam ahoṣi kammañceti vipāka-kālavasena kammaṃ catubbidhīṃ. Yaṃ kammaṃ attano tejena diṭṭheva dhamme imasmimeva attabhāve phalaṃ deti taṃ diṭṭhadhamma-vedaniyam kammaṃ nāma. Yaṃ kammaṃ anantara bhava vipaccati taṃ upapajjavedaniyam kammaṃ nāma. Paraloke yasmiṃ kasmiñci attabhava

vipaccamānaṃ kammaṃ aparāpariya-vedanīyaṃ nāma. Aññena kammena bādhitaṃ vipākakālātikantaṃ diṭṭhadhamma-vedanīyaṃ vā upapajja-vedanīyaṃ vā kammaṃ tathā khiṇāsavassa arahato saṃsā-rappavattiyā abhāvena aparāpariya-vedanīyaṃ kammampi ahosi-kam-manti vuccati—ahosi eva kammaṃ na tassa vipāko iccatthena ahosi-kammaṃ.

Paṭiccasamuppāde upādānapaccayā bhavati vuttaṃ. So kamma-bhavo ceva uppattibhavo ca. Bhavati iccatthena kammasseva kamma-bhavo Uppattibhavo tu kammābhiniḃvttā rūpādayo khandhā. Bhavo hi jātiyā paccayo. Tasmā bhavapaccayā jātiti vuccati. Evaṃ paccayā samuppannānaṃ dhammānaṃ antogadhaṃ avijjā taṇhā pari-yonaddhaṃ kammaṃ saṃsāra-cakkaṃ pavatteti. Tappavatta saṃsā-racakke jātimaraṇadhammānaṃ sattēnaṃ sukha-dukkha līlā pavattati. Tasmā vuttaṃ “Kammaṃ satte vibhajati yadidaṃ hiṇappaṇitatāyāti”.

Note and Referencé :

1. Cula-kamma-vibhanga sutta (Majjhima Nikāya).

Buddhist Festivals

Mahasthavira Neluwe Jinaratana

Some Buddhist festivals, such as Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā, are observed in all Buddhist countries as Christmas is in the West, while others are given importance in some places but not so much elsewhere. There are two major divisions of Buddhism—Theravāda and Mahāyāna. Theravāda, which is the Buddhism of Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and parts of India, contains historically the original teachings of the Enlightened One, Gautama Buddha, and is preserved in the Tipiṭaka, the Buddhist Canon, written in the Pali language. Pali is close to the language of Magadha as it was during the Buddha's lifetime. Mahāyāna is a form of Buddhism which developed later, with some additional doctrines and an extensive pantheon of Bodhisattvas and other deities. This form of Buddhism is found in Tibet, China, Korea, Japan, Laos, Vietnam, Bhutan and Mongolia. It is also found in parts of Sikkim, Assam and Nepal, where it is more closely related to Hinduism than it is elsewhere. There is a great number of minor religious festivals in these later countries, but the festivals I shall deal here with will be those which are entirely Buddhist in their origin and are observed in all the Buddhist countries.

The principal anniversary for all the Buddhists is the Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā, known in Sri Lanka as Wesak and in India as Buddha Jayanti. It is a moveable feast, since like all the Buddhist festivals it falls according to the lunar calendar. It is fixed by the full-moon dated in the month of Vaiśākha, which falls in May. It was on this day of the year, according to the very oldest Buddhist traditions, that Prince Siddhārtha, who afterwards became the Buddha, was born at Lumbinī Park near Kapilavastu, on the border of Nepal. On the same day of the year, at the age of thirty-five, He attained the Supreme Enlightenment or Buddhahood, beneath the Bodhi-Tree at Buddha Gaya, and forty-five years later at the age of eighty He finally passed away in to the Parinirvāṇa also on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha. His passing away took place at Kuśinagara or Kusinara. All these places associated with the historical life of the Buddha are marked by ancient Buddhist monuments in the form of stūpas and the remains of vast monasteries and Buddhist universities, and today they are centres of pilgrimage for the Buddhists from all over the World.

Naturally, the great festival of Vaiśākha is observed at these particular places with special solemnity. The pilgrims from all Buddhist countries are to be found there on this occasion create to those places a very cosmopolitan air. You will find Vaiśākha being celebrated at Buddha Gaya, for instance, by Sinhalese, Burmese, Thais, Cambodians, Nepalis, Chinese, Laotians, Tibetans and Japanese, and indeed by peoples from all over Asia, with usually quite a number of Western Buddhists also taking part. The same applies to Sarnath where the Buddha preached His First Sermon, and to all the other places in India associated with His life and teachings. If Buddhist pilgrims cannot be at Buddha Gaya, Lumbini or Kusinara on that date they try to hold the Festival at Sarnath or some other Buddhist Centres. The ceremonies on this occasion are always very varied and colourful. Each Buddhist national group has its own way of marking the anniversary, while some ceremonies are common to all. At Buddha Gaya every Buddhist likes to take part in the ceremony of pouring milk on the roots of the Bodhi-Tree, in serving the Buddhist monks with food and in listening to the recitation of the Scriptures. They also offer flowers, lights and incense at the foot of the Bodhi-Tree as well as at all the Shrines and images of the Buddha there. This goes on all through the day and till late night, when the millions of glittering flames from candles and oil lamps make a wonderful picture.

The Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā is celebrated in the same way in Sri Lanka, where the people visit one or other of the great historical stūpas, such as that at Anuradhapura, or go to their local temples. Many of them on that day put on the white clothes of a Buddhist lay devotee and spend the whole day in the temple or monastery ground, observing the Eight or Ten Voluntary Precepts. The layman or woman who undertakes these vows lives for the day just like a Buddhist Bhikkhu, restraining his senses and devoting himself entirely to quite contemplation. This practice has the most salutary psychological effect, for it teaches people how to detach themselves from the cares and anxieties of the daily life, correct their livelihood and upgrade themselves at a healthy form of mind. They correct their perspective and give themselves a calm, balanced outlook which serves them well on their return to ordinary life. In this way, Buddhism gives everybody an opportunity to sample the higher life for a time, without having to take any lifelong vow. In those days when the Buddhist laymen and women observed this custom regularly, there was a very high standard of morality among the Buddhists; they were happy and peace-loving people, who knew just how much importance to give to

the affairs of this world, neither too much, nor too little. They were what we should call today thoroughly integrated and mentally-balanced people.

You will see from this fact that the great Buddhist festival of Vaiśākha, although is an occasion for rejoicing, it does not encourage hectic life. The happiness that the Buddhists feel when they are celebrating it is a tranquil, peaceful joy. All the time they bear in mind the Teaching of the Buddha and the godlike character of their Teacher. Remembering that He was a man like themselves, they know that they too can become like Him and they yearn for the peace that His Teaching promises them, the release from conflict and suffering. And they feel happy in the knowledge that one day they will attain it. Meanwhile, they pay reverence to the Buddha's Image, the concrete and visible symbol of His attainment, which to the Buddhists is not an idol, but a beloved form that embodies everything they revere and aspire for.

But the festival has its gay side as well. The streets and houses are brightly illuminated with coloured lanterns, electric lights and tasteful decorations. And it is here that the artistic nature of the people shows itself, for often the lanterns are made by hand, in all sorts of shapes using cane and tissue paper. You will often see huge and elaborate lanterns made in the shape of fish, birds and flowers. The lotus is, of course, a favourite shape for lanterns, but of late the children have shown a great liking for aeroplanes and other contemporary designs. In making these lanterns the children show great skill and ingenuity, and they enjoy the task enormously. Sometimes they prepare these weeks beforehand, collecting materials, making their designs and working in groups to produce something really special. This provides wonderful training for them, quite in accordance with the latest educational systems and it all came about quite spontaneously from the religious impulses of the people, many centuries ago.

In July there falls the Āṣāḍi Pūrṇimā. This is also a very important day, for it commemorates two great events. The first was the renunciation of the household life by the young Prince Siddhārtha, when he left his luxurious palace to become a homeless wanderer in search of the truth at the age of twenty-nine. This is known as the Great Renunciation, and has been made famous in Buddhist art, both ancient and modern. The second event that falls on this day was the preaching of His First Sermon by the Buddha after His enlightenment. This Sermon, entitled the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta or Turning of

the Wheel of Law, was delivered at Mṛgadāya, now known as Sarnath. After His attainment of Buddhahood, the Lord travelled on foot to Banaras, which was the great religious centre of India, to make His doctrine known to the world. At Sarnath He rejoined five ascetics who had formerly been His disciples, but had deserted Him when He found that the practice of the extreme asceticism which He had been following was not the true path to realisation. At first these ascetics doubted the Buddha's attainment, but when He approached and spoke to them they realised that His personality had been transformed and that He had indeed become the great Teacher whom they were searching for. He then preached the famous Sermon on the Middle way, beginning : "There are two extremes to be avoided by way of self-indulgence, which is low, base and harmful. The other is the path of extreme self-mortification, which is equally low, base and harmful." He then proceeded to expound the true path of self-integration and spiritual realisation, which is the Noble Eightfold Path of Buddhism or the Ārya Aṣṭāṅgika Mārga. This is the only way to eliminate all forms of craving and bring the ceaseless round of rebirth and suffering to an end. Because it avoids all extremes both of the views and of the conduct. It is known as the Majjhimā-paṭipadā, the Middle Way. On hearing this Sermon the five ascetics became convinced of the truth of His doctrine. They became the Buddha's first disciples, and in a very short time they all became Arhats—that is, noble disciples who had realised the Nirvāṇa in this very life. So this festival marks both the beginning of the Buddha Śāsana and the establishment of the Buddha-Śāsana. It is a very important day in the Buddhist calendar. It is observed in much the same way as Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā, though not on so grand a scale.

Another very interesting event is commemorated by the Madhu Pūrṇimā, which occurs in September. The Scriptures tell that once the monks became very quarrelsome and split up into two factions. By that time, of course, the Buddha's disciples had come to a number of several hundreds and the quarrelsome monks were those who had not yet attained Arhatship. The Buddha and the senior disciples tried in vain to pacify them. After several attempts, the Buddha decided that He would teach them a lesson in the only way they could understand. Leaving the monastery He went away alone into the jungle. There he literally lived with animals. It is related that the wild animals of the forest—elephants, monkeys and parrots, brought Him food, and enabled Him to live in peace which human beings had denied Him. There is surely a very profound lesson for all of us in

this event. The Buddha stayed in the forest many weeks. Meanwhile, things went from bad to worse in the monastery where the monks were still quarrelling. The laymen seeing their bad behaviour, and blaming them for having driven the Buddha Himself away, ceased to support the monks. They lost faith in them entirely and felt no respect for them. When the monks came to realise that their bad conduct had caused the laymen to stop providing them with food they came to their senses. They sent a deputation to the Buddha, imploring Him to return. When the Buddha, was convinced that they had learned their lesson He took leave of His animal friends and went back to the monastery. It is related that the animals were very sad when He left them ; some of them died broken hearted, but because of their devotion and due to their good karma they were reborn in the Deva realms. In this way Buddhism teaches us that even animals have their place in the universal moral law of cause and effect, and that they too can evolve to higher states of being. Such is the story which is commemorated by the Madhu Pūrṇimā. The word 'Madhu' means 'honey'. Wild honey was the chief food the animals provided for the Buddha, and it is customary on this day to offer honey to the Buddhist monks in memory of the event. The festival is held with great importance by the Indian Buddhists of Chittagong and West Bengal.

In October the fullmoon day marks the end of Vassāvāso, the Buddhist 'Lent'. During the months of the rainy season the monks live in retirement, seldom moving from their monasteries. They spend the whole period in retreat, giving themselves up to meditation and study. On the full-moon day at the end of Vassavaso the laymen and women hold a festival in honour of the monks who have been residing in their monastery. They offer them food and gifts of robes, which the lay people prepare and offer. This ceremony is known as Kaṭhina. It has many picturesque traditional features. The robes are traditionally supposed to be made from the raw materials, woven, cut, dyed and stitched all on the same day; and in many places this custom is still observed. The festival is given great importance in Sri Lanka, India, Burma and Thailand and is accompanied by great rejoicing, for people feel that they are acquiring great merit in supporting the good monks who have spent the Rains-period with them. After the ceremony is over the monks are free to travel about again, and go wherever they feel that they are needed. In Theravāda countries the relationship between the monks and the lay Buddhists is a very fine and beneficial one. The Bhikkhus teach the Dharma and give advice on moral problems, and the lay men and women show their gratitude

and respect by providing robes, food, medicines and other physical needs of the monks. It was thus that the Buddha intended it to be when He instituted the Saṅgha. Today, of course, circumstances are rather different ; but all the same, in most Buddhist countries of the Theravāda School this system still exists. In former days all Buddhist children were educated in monastery-schools conducted by the Bhikṣus and this was another great service rendered to the community by the monks. It resulted in the Buddhist countries having a higher standard of literacy, even in the rural areas, than anywhere else in the World before the West took the lead in education.

Now we come to a Buddhist festival which is peculiar to my own country, Sri Lanka, where it ranks very high in the list of anniversaries. In the month of June there falls the Poson Full-moon. It was on this day that Buddhism was first brought to Sri Lanka by the Arhat Mahinda and the Bhikkhuni Saṅghamittā. Both of them were related to the great Buddhist king Asoka, and were sent by him as emissaries to his friend, Devānampiyatissa, the king of Sri Lanka. The Bhikkhuni Saṅghamittā brought with her a sapling from the historical Bodhi-tree at Buddha Gaya. It was planted at Anuradhapura where it flourishes still, one of the oldest trees in the World. As you may well imagine, this festival is a time of particular rejoicing for all Sinhalese Buddhists, and many impressive ceremonies are held to celebrate it. One very striking feature of all Buddhist festivals in Sri Lanka is the Perahera, a great procession with elephants, dancers and musicians. The Kandy Perahera with the Tooth Relic is the most magnificent spectacle. No verbal description could do justice to it.

The last festival I want to tell you about is that of the January Full-moon day. This marks the day when the Buddha announced to His disciples that at the end of three months He would pass away into the Parinirvāṇa. This, of course, is a rather sad occasion but the Buddhists do not make it a day of mourning or lamentation. When the Buddha made the announcement He reminded His followers that life would be impermanent, that all things must pass away, and that we must accept the fact that all conditioned things are subject to Anicca, Dukka, Anatta—Impermanent, subject to Suffering, and devoid of Reality.

In announcing that at the end of three months He would pass out of conditioned existence into the final Nirvāṇa, the Buddha was simply stating that His self-imposed mission had been fulfilled, and that He was going towards the ultimate goal, the unconditioned state wherein the suffering is at an end, from which there is no

more rebirth. Viewed in that light, the disciples who were not yet fully enlightened might mourn for the loss of their Teacher and they did, but at the same time they knew that really his Parinirvāṇa was also an occasion for gladness. He had reached the final extinction of sorrow, but was leaving them His Teachings, which they in turn would pass on to others. This they did, and it has remained as a guiding light in the World for the past 2525 years, leading men on the path of compassion and peace.

So you see that each of the great Buddhist festivals has its own particular significance, and is related closely to the actual life and Teachings of the Buddha. When the Buddhists celebrate these anniversaries they always try to bear in mind the particular meaning of each. The festivals have never become separated from their religious meaning, but still serve to remind people of the truth of their faith. Every Buddhist country has its secular as well as religious festivals, such as, the New Year celebrations marked by national customs like the water Festivals in Burma, Boat Festivals in Thailand, and many other gay, spectacular and historically interesting events, but it is the peculiarly Buddhist festivals that appeal most of all to the hearts of the people. They look forward to them with pleasure, and when these are over they return to their ordinary working day lives feeling all the better for having taken part in a festival that really means something in their religious and cultural life.

The Place Of Thankfulness In Buddhism

Henepola Gunaratana

Thankfulness is a natural quality common to all living beings. It can be seen even in the behavior of animals. Some people know how to express it clearly and distinctly, while others do not. A person who knows how to express thankfulness clearly in thoughts, words and deeds is called a true (*sat*) person (*purisa*). One who does not know how to express it, on the other hand, is called an untrue man (*a+sat+purisa*). The fact that somebody is unable to express thankfulness does not necessarily mean that he is not thankful. It may be that he is simply not skillful enough to express it. What such a person needs to learn is how to express his thankfulness.

One does not necessarily have to have received a great favor from others in order to be grateful to them. Even a small favor should be remembered with gratitude. This point can be illustrated by citing a famous incident in the life of Sāriputta, one of the Buddha's chief disciples.

Once a Brāhmaṇa approached to the monks and asked them to ordain him. His request was denied. As a result the Brāhmaṇa became so disappointed that he began to lose weight and become very weak and pale. Seeing him in this dejected condition the Buddha asked the monks for the reason. The monks reported what happened. Thereupon the Buddha called the monks together and asked whether any among them could remember receiving any favor from this poor old Brāhmaṇa. Venerable Sāriputta spoke up and said that he remembered that once he had received a morsel of food from him. The Buddha then praised Sāriputta and said: "Very good, Sāriputta, very good. Indeed those noble men, Sāriputta, are thankful and grateful. Because of this Sāriputta, you should ordain this Brāhmaṇa who is willing to renounce the world."¹

Though thankfulness has been praised and appreciated by many great and holy beings very few people really practise it. Therefore the

Buddha put the grateful man in the category of rare persons, saying :

"Monks, the appearance of three persons is hard to find in the World. What three ?

The appearance of a Tathāgata, an Arhat who is a fully Enlightened One is hard to find in the World. Likewise a person who can expound the Dhamma-Discipline taught by the Tathāgata and a person who is mindful and grateful are hard to be found in the World. "2

The Buddha said : "A noble person, monk, is thankful and mindful of the favors he receives from others. Thankfulness and mindfulness are the characteristics of the noble person."3

From the Buddhist point of view all living beings are related to one another through the process of rebirth (saṃsāra). The Buddha said : "It is not easy, bhikkhus, to find a being who, during this long existence (in saṃsāra), has not at one time been a mother..., a father ..., a brother , a sister..., a son , a daughter."4 All these beings have received some favor from one another. Therefore all beings should be grateful to one another.

However, it is impossible for any one to remember all the favors he has received from others and to show his gratefulness to every other living being. Therefore the Buddha had pointed out that human beings should show special gratitude towards their parents, spiritual teachers, supporters, relatives, friends, employers, workers, neighbours whom ever they receive favors from no matter how small.

Children should be deeply indebted to their parents for bringing them into this World and raising them sometimes even at the risk of their own lives. The Buddha said that parents would be the first teachers who would be like Brahmā, the highest deity in Indian mythology. The Buddhist literature records that the Buddha was so grateful to his mother that he went to the Heaven where she was reborn after her death and preached to her the Dhamma he had realized. He preached the Dhamma to his father and made him realize the truth which eventually brought his saṃsāric suffering to an end.

Children should be grateful to their parents. If the parents commit wrongful acts the children should prevent them from continuing. They should encourage parents to perform wholesome acts. If the parents do not have faith, the children should do what is necessary to establish them in faith. If the parents are unethical, the children should advise them to follow moral principles. If the parents

do not learn the good teaching, children should provide them with opportunities to do so. If the parents are not generous, the children should encourage them to be generous. If parents do not meditate to improve their wisdom, the children should encourage them to meditate. If the parents are treading the right path, grateful children must follow their example. In this way children show their gratitude to their parents in the most pragmatic manner in their daily life.

The Buddha had advised us to be grateful to our teachers—both those who would show us the way to material success and those who would guide us on the spiritual path. We are advised to show great thankfulness to our spiritual teachers because it is they who teach us how to eliminate suffering without expecting any material benefit from us in return. The students, therefore, should be obedient to their teachers, leading the spiritual life strictly in accordance with the moral and ethical guidelines they prescribe. They should attend to all their teachers' needs and create a peaceful atmosphere for the teachers to continue their spiritual practice smoothly.

Teachers on their part should show their gratitude to students, who are obedient, diligent and mindful by giving them proper instructions at the proper time, by preventing them from falling into wrong practices, and by reminding them of their subject of meditation,

Monks should be grateful to their lay supporters always remembering that they are dependent upon them for support. The Buddha had advised bhikkhus (Buddhist monks) to show their gratitude to lay supporters by guiding them through the Dhamma and directing them to the right path if they go astray. The bhikkhus should preach the Dhamma to them whenever opportune, after meals, when they are sick and distressed, at grief-stricken moments, as well as when they are healthy and mindful. While living an exemplary life the monks should give their lay supporters the gift of the Dhamma which excels all other gifts.

In order to be thankful and mindful a bhikkhu should live a holy and noble life. His conduct should be pure and blameless, he should be meditative and cultivate loving and compassionate thoughts towards those who support him. If he lives an exemplary life lay people will want to associate with him, appreciate his way of life, and be encouraged to learn the way he follows. While learning the noble way of a monk they listen to the Dhamma. Listening to the Dhamma arouses confidence in them. With confidence they memorize the Dhamma. Then they investigate the meaning of what they have memorized. As the meaning of the Dhamma becomes clear they

observe mindfully the whole phenomenal existence and become always mindful. Continuous and consistent mindfulness brings about further clear comprehension of all phenomena. The clear knowledge of all phenomenal existences gives rise to sense-restraint which in turn leads to restraint in thought, words and deeds. This triple discipline helps him to eliminate the hindrances. The mind free from the hindrances can eliminate ignorance and attain perfect wisdom or enlightenment. Therefore the thankful person is to be sought out and associated with by all means. He is the one who makes the World happy by helping people to eliminate suffering.

The lay devotees on the other hand should support the Saṅgha, the community of monks and nuns, by providing the monks and nuns with their material requisites, such as, food, robes, shelter and medicine. The dispensation of the Buddha thrives through their mutual support. Reciprocity in exchanging thankfulness is the best support and encouragement for both. Therefore the whole relationship between the bhikkhus and lay devotees rests on their mutual gratefulness.

Similarly, for our peaceful co-existence in the society, we should be thankful to our relatives, friends, employers, helpers, and neighbours. Since gratefulness brings peace and happiness the Buddha advised us to cultivate it : "May you all be thankful and live long in heaven,"³ The thankful person lives happily and peacefully in this present life and goes to the heaven after death. Peace and happiness are heavenly blessings that the thankful person enjoys in this life itself. Therefore thankfulness is a source of heavenly bliss.

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. Vin. I. 55-56. 2. A. I. 266 ; III. 169.
3. A. I. 61.
4. "Na so bhikkhave satto sulabharupo, yo na matabhutapubbo imina dighena addhuna .., yo na pitabhutapubbo..., yo na bhatabhutapubbo..., yo na bhaginibhutapubbo .., yo na puttabhutapubbo .., yo na dhitabhutapubbo imina dighena addhuna " S. II. 189-90.
5. Sabbe katannuno hota, ciraṃ saggamhi thassatha. J. III. 387.

Renaissance of Buddhism in Indonesia

Heinz Bechert

Buddhism was first introduced into Indonesia in the course of the so-called "Hinduization" of Southeast Asia. As for the earlier period, we know that Buddhism and Hinduism coexisted side-by-side as early as in the first half of the 5th century in Sumatra and in Java.

The literary sources for the knowledge of the development of Indonesian Buddhism in the following centuries are, however, rather scanty, but we can derive information from a large number of Buddhist monuments and from inscriptions. In the early period, Hīnayāna of several schools as well as Mahāyāna spread in Indonesia. Later on Mantrayāna or Vajrayāna became the predominant form of Javanese Buddhism.

In each of the considerable number of systems of Vajrayāna or Tantric Buddhism, and for each of the several steps of the realization of the Tantric way to salvation, a particular maṇḍala was used. The largest maṇḍala which has ever been constructed is known as the temple of Borobudur, and as such it is the representation of the concept of the cosmic order as understood by a particular school of Tantric Buddhism.

For an interpretation of this gigantic maṇḍala one would naturally look to ancient Javanese Tantric Buddhist texts. Unfortunately, only few such works have been preserved. The most famous of the scriptures of Old Javanese Buddhism is the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan. This text as handed down in the manuscripts consists, however, of two separate works: Sang hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranāya and Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan. The sources of the Sanskrit stanzas in the Mantranāya have been identified in the Mahāvairocanasūtra and in the Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā by Wogihara Unrai. There is no doubt that the form of Tantrism as represented by these texts was similar, though not necessarily identical, with the Tantric system underlying the concept of the architects of the Borobudur.

For the further history of Javanese Buddhism, I would like to quote Dr. Soebadio's statement that during the last centuries of pre-Islamic Javanese culture there existed "a longstanding peaceful coexistence of Buddhism and Śaivism as two independent and equally respected systems".

Later on, the development of the religious traditions of Indian origin in Java and Bali resulted in the growth of a syncretistic combination of Buddhism and Śaivism with the doctrine of the identity of Śiva and Buddha. It is in this particular form, that Buddhist elements survive in the modern religion of Bali and Lombok and in the religion of the Tenggër in East Java. This religion is now officially termed as the agama Hindu by the Indonesian government. Buddhism has totally merged in this form of syncretism, and the Hindu elements in this religion proved to be much stronger than those of Buddhist origin.

Against this background we understand that Buddhism was described as a religion of the past only in the contribution on Indonesia in the 2500 Buddha Jayanti Souvenir of 1956. In the last paragraph of that article, however, a short reference is made to recently formed groups "whose members call themselves Buddhists, though naturally they profess a special sort of Javanese Buddhism".

At present, however, Buddhism or agama Buddha has become one of the five officially recognized religions in Indonesia (panca agama di Indonésia.), together with Islam (agama Islam), Catholicism (agama Kristen Katolik), Protestantism (agama Kristen Protéstan) and Hinduism (agama Hindu), whereas the recognition of Confucianism (agama Konghucu) as the sixth religion is still under dispute. Buddhism in this sense is not to be confused with the Buddhist elements in the afore-mentioned syncretistic religion of Bali and Lombok or the agama Hindu of Indonesia.

The revival of Buddhism in Indonesia seems to have three roots: Buddhism of Chinese origin, Buddhist missions from the Theravāda countries and the reconversion of Javanese and Balinese to Buddhism which, in its first stage, was influenced by local mystic and chiliastic movements as well as by the spread of the ideas of Theosophy and other recent forms of mysticism. Though the majority of the followers of Javanese mysticism remained nominally Muslim, sizeable numbers moved nearer and nearer to Buddhism and to Hinduism. In this context, the reintroduction of Balinese Hinduism (agama Hindu Bali) in Java is a phenomenon worth mentioning.

The first more detailed account of modern Indonesian Buddhism was published in Bangkok in 1971 as a record of a Buddhist mission, and this has remained the only monographic work on modern Indonesian Buddhism in a Western language so far. The Buddhist mission visited Indonesia in 1970 and was led by Phra Sāsana Sobhana of Wat Bovoranives in Bangkok. Wat Bovoranives is well-known as a center of Buddhist reformism since the 19th century, and it is the seat of the famous Buddhist monastic Mahamakut University. From the report of this Buddhist mission to Indonesia, we get a fair idea of the early stages of Buddhist renaissance in this country. It is recorded that, until 1953, "the Buddhasāsana in Indonesia was represented by Chinese Buddhist temples with a few Chinese monks from mainland China, and a core of faithful Chinese devotees. Among the native peoples however, few called themselves Buddhist, and these were mostly educated people who had learnt of Buddhism through the Theosophical Society." We are further informed that "with independence and the 2500 Buddha Jayanti, more Indonesians began to investigate the Dhamma and to return to the old religion of their ancestors. Whole groups of people were found in the mountains who called themselves 'Buddhists' but who knew very little of Dhamma. And later, when all Indonesians were exhorted to follow a religion... by their government, many only nominally Muslim declared themselves Buddhists".

The introduction of Theravāda was largely due to the activities of the Ven. Jinarakkhita Thera. He was born in Bogor and received upasampadā in Rangoon in April 1954 under the famous Mahasi Sayadaw. Jinarakkhita initiated the formation of Buddhist organizations, and in particular that of the Perhimpunan Buddhis Indonésia or Perbuddhi in 1958. Since then, several Buddhist groups have organized themselves, and presently there are seven different forms or denominations of Buddhism in Indonesia with separate organizations. All of them belong to the federation of Buddhist organizations of Indonesia named Perwalian Umat Buddha Indonésia. Of these seven denominations, four belong to the tradition of East Asian Buddhism which is defined by the use of the sacred texts in Chinese as scriptures or kitab suci. These four groups are :

1. Majelis Agama Buddha Nichiren Shoshu Indonésia. This denomination resulted from missionary activities of Japanese Buddhists of the well-known Nichiren Sect.
2. Majelis Buddha Mahayana Indonésia. This denomination follows the traditions of Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism, combining those

of the Ch'an—or Meditation School and those of the so-called Amitābha—or Sukhāvati-Buddhism.

3. Majelis Pandita Buddha Maitréya Indonésia. This denomination is oriented towards the coming of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future. Thus, it can be characterized as a messianic form of Chinese Buddhism.
4. Majelis Rokhanivan Tridharma Seluruh Indonésia. This denomination, which is generally termed by the Sanskrit word Tridharma only, represents the traditional syncretism of the three great religions of China, viz. Mahāyāna-Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. While the Buddhist elements have not always been predominant in this syncretistic religion in mainland China, Buddhism has by far outweighed the importance of the elements originating from the two other religions in Indonesian Tridharma. The use of Sanskrit and Pali terms along with the traditional Chinese terminology can be observed in several Tridharma temples. The Chinese texts, however, remain the main kitab suci of the followers of this form of religious syncretism.

The three remaining forms of Indonesian Buddhism may be defined as forms of Southeast Asian Buddhism. They are :

5. Majelis Pandita Buddha Dhamma Indonésia or Mapanbuddhi. The followers of this school base their religion exclusively on the Theravāda tradition. Until now, they have maintained close relations with Thailand. This form of Buddhism has appealed to ethnic Javanese and Balinese, but the number of followers does not seem to be very large. The Theravādin community has monks forming the Sangha Theravada Indonésia.
6. Majelis Upasaka Paṇḍita Agama Buddha Indonésia or Muabi. This denomination which is also known as Buddhayāna represents a syncretistic form of Buddhism incorporating Theravāda, Mahāyāna and Javanese Tantric traditions. Its Sangha is called Sangha Agung Indonésia.
7. Majelis Dharmaduta Kasogatan. This Form of Buddhism may be defined as being purely Indonesian in character. It is described by its followers as a revival of ancient Javanese Buddhism. The supporters of Kasogatan are all ethnic Javanese so that they can rightly claim to revive the religion of their ancestors. There is no Sangha of the Kasogatan sect, but there is a body of dharma-dutas. These are initiated and specially educated members of the Kasogatan community.

For the understanding of the recent doctrinal development of Indonesian Buddhism we must now consider its position within the Indonesian state. The so-called principles of *pancasila* which were formulated on May 29, 1945 during the struggle for national independence form part of the fundamental laws of the Republic of Indonesia. One of these principles is *ketuhanan yang maha ěsa*, i. e. belief in god. *Maha ěsa* is, of course, a term of Sanskrit origin. In 1966, a German publisher by the name of Gerhard Szezesny issued a posthumous reprint of the book *Buddhismus und Gottesidee* (Buddhism and the concept of god) by Helmuth von Glasenapp (1891-1963) under the changed title *Der Buddhismus, eine atheistische Religion* which was in turn translated into English and published in 1970 as *Buddhism, a non-theistic religion*. The present author contributed a selection from Buddhist scriptures to this reprint, but he was not aware that the book was to be published under a title different from the original book-title. Later on, my attention was drawn to the fact that certain problems arose for the Buddhists of Indonesia when this book became known in Indonesia, because the recognition of Buddhism as a religion under the fundamental principles of *pancasila* was at stake if Buddhism was atheistic.

For the Buddhists of Indonesia there were two ways out of the dilemma : The Theravādin of Indonesia reinterpreted *nibbāna* as being *maha ěsa*. As a scriptural justification for this interpretation, the famous passage in *Udāna* VIII, 3 about the *nibbāna* (*atthi bhikkhave ajātaṃ abhūtaṃ akataṃ asaṅkhaṭaṃ*) is being quoted.

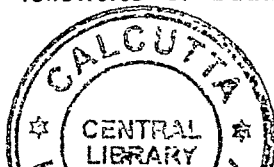
The supporters of Buddhayana or *Majelis Upasaka Pandita Buddha Indonésia* (Muabi) have, however, followed another lead. They decided to integrate the traditions of ancient Javanese Buddhism with those of Theravāda which originally had been the only source of their beliefs. According to their present teachings, the concept of the *Ādibuddha* or "Ur-Buddha" can be derived from indigenous Javanese tradition and it can be proclaimed as the Buddhist concept of God.

For the knowledge of the teachings of Buddhayana we can rely on a number of publications. In these sources, three groups of books are determined as *kitab suci*, i. e. the holy scriptures of Agama Buddha Indonésia : 1. the *Tiṭṭaka* of the Theravādin in Pali, 2. the Sanskrit *Pitaka*, and 3. the *Kawi Pitaka*. The Sanskrit *Pitaka* is more exactly described as a number of *Mahāyāna* and *Tantric* works in Sanskrit. The *Kawi Pitaka* is said to consist of the holy Buddhist scriptures in *Kawi* or Old-Javanese language, viz *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan*, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya*, *Kuñjarakarna*, *Suta-*

soma.etc. The material which was actually used for the formulation of the doctrinal statements in the writings of Buddhayana, however, consists of a rather limited collection of texts, translations and secondary sources. Among the 39 titles quoted in the bibliographical list of the short, but fundamental work "Doktrin Sanghyang Adi Buddha", there is only one Buddhist kitab suci in its original language, viz. the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan. The other books quoted are five English translations of Pali and Sanskrit texts, one book with selections from the Pali Canon (viz. Nyanatiloka, The Word of the Buddha), twenty-nine secondary works on Buddhism (14 in English, 11 in Bahasa Indonésia, 3 in Dutch and 1 in German), one Philosophical work and finally two modern general works on religious science. It strikes the observer to note the extent to which the modern Buddhists of Indonesia rely on the work of Western Buddhologists for the interpretation of their religious traditions.

The Indonesian Buddhists thus followed the centuries old tradition of religious syncretism in their country, but they did not combine elements of Hindu and of Buddhist origin as it was done for the formation of Śīva-Buddhism of Old Java and Bali. In Buddhayana, concepts and texts from different Buddhist traditions have merged. This new form of Buddhism proved attractive for several Buddhist communities including a considerable number of Buddhists of Chinese origin, because they could at the same time adopt a form of Buddhism which defined itself to be genuinely Indonesian, and retain many of the traditions and practices of Chinese Mahāyāna. When Chinese Buddhist communities joined the Buddhayana, the original Chinese names of their temples were replaced by Indonesian names which were largely of Sanskrit or Pali origin, e. g. Wihara Sakyawanaram, Wihara Tri Ratna, Wihara Dharmayuga, Wihara Tunggal Dharma, Wihara Amérta Dharma etc. In these viharas, a small selection of Chinese Buddhist texts—mainly the Smaller Sukhāvativyūha, Vajracchedikā and the Mahārajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra—is regularly studied and used for chanting, but the Paritta books of Indonesian Buddhism which mainly consist of Pali texts are also made use of.

The influence of Pali Buddhism on most forms of modern Indonesian Buddhism seems to be increasing. On the other hand, we always find references to Ādibuddha and to the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism in the vandanā-formulas as used by the followers of Buddhayana as well as of



Kasogatan. I shall end my remarks with the formula in hybrid Sanskrit which by now seems to have become the established short vandanā of these forms of Indonesian Buddhism.

namo Sanghyang Ādi Buddhāya, namo Buddhāya, namo sarve Bodhisatvāya Mahāsattvāya.

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This is a preliminary report of research on Buddhism in Indonesia. A detailed study is under preparation.

Faith and Meditation :

A Comparison of Sarana and

Anussati in the Theravāda

Tradition

George D. Bond

The Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha* constitute central foci in the Theravāda religious system. These three, linked as a triad, appear to have religious significance and a definite relation to the soteriological process as Theravāda has expounded it. This triad occurs in the Theravāda system in many places but especially in two strikingly different contexts: we find these three at the center of the creedal formula termed the "Three Refuges" (*Ti-Saraṇa*) and also as objects of meditation in the form of mental development known as the "Recollections" (*anussati*). In this essay we examine the descriptions of *saraṇa* and *anussati* in the Pāli Canon and Commentaries. The comparison of these two activities elucidates both the religious significance of the triad of the Buddha, the *Dhamma*, and the *Saṅgha* and the central intention, the soteriological dynamic, of the Theravāda system.

In order to examine and compare *saraṇa* and *anussati* we have structured our essay along the lines of a traditional exegetical technique often used in the Pāli Commentaries, a *pañhakkamma* or question outline. We shall investigate both *saraṇa* and *anussati* by asking: (1) Who does *saraṇa/anussati*? To whom does this apply? (2) What is *saraṇa/anussati*? What does the practice of *saraṇa/anussati* involve? (3) What is the result or outcome of *saraṇa/anussati*?

(1) Who does *saraṇa*? To whom does *saraṇa* apply? The *Pali* texts depict *saraṇa* as a practice for beginners in the Buddha's way. According to the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the Buddha established the three refuges as the formula to be used in the first ordination ritual (*Vin.* I. 22). The commentarial tradition explains further that refuge represents the means by which all beings enter the Buddha's *sāsana*

whether to become members of the *Saṅgha* or lay followers (*Kh. A.* 14). We find many examples of this in the *suttas* where as a standard conclusion to many of the Buddha's discourses the people addressed in the discourse go for refuge in him and request that he accept them as either *upāsakas* or *bhikkhus*. Interestingly, this response to the Buddha's *suttas* is made only by lay people and non-disciples; the *bhikkhus* in the *suttas* never respond to the Buddha's teaching by going for refuge.

(2) What is *saraṇa*? What does the practice of *saraṇa* involve? On the surface, *saraṇa* or "refuge" would appear to be a simple ritual, something that is done almost mechanically. Theravāda tradition, however, has maintained that refuge, properly perceived and properly performed, is a significant and powerful act. Emphasizing the potency of the act of refuge, the commentarial tradition defines *saraṇa* to mean "it kills," *himsati*, because going for refuge "kills" the fear, the suffering (*dukkha*), and the defilements leading to unsatisfactory existences (*M. A.* 132; *Kh. A.* 16). But Buddhaghosa cautions that the salvation promised here is not automatic. It is not just a matter of going to the Buddha, but of going to the Buddha as refuge (*Kh. A.* 18-19). That is, the mode of going, the intention of the one who goes for refuge, must be right (*Kh. A.* 18). Buddhaghosa says that the proper mode of going is illustrated in this statement:

I go to the Buddha as "refuge" he is for me the highest ideal, the destroyer of evil, the provider of benefit, with this intention, I go to him (*gacchati*), resort to him (*bhajati*), serve him (*sevati*), and honor him (*payirupāssati*), or thus I know (*jānāti*), I understand (*bujjhati*) (*Kh. A.* 18-19; cf. *M. A.* 130-131).

The mode of going is specified in this passage by the series of verbs beginning with "I go," *gacchati*, and ending with "I understand," *bujjhati*. Arranged as they are, these terms indicate a significant progression, a movement from going for refuge to attaining enlightenment. Buddhaghosa notes that the verbal roots meaning "going" also signify "knowing" (*Kh. A.* 19; *M. A.* 131). The interrelation of these terms suggests that going for refuge involves one in a process of liberation, a process in which the end is implicit in the beginning. As Carter has written, by going for refuge "one is entering a process of transcending,"¹ a process of transforming one's outlook and one's life.

The nature of this process of transcending is clarified further by the commentators when they set out the "Four Modes of Going for Refuge." The commentarial tradition contains at least two version of these modes of refuge. One version appears in identical terms in the commentaries to the *Digha-Nikāya* (D. A. 229-234), the *Majjhima-Nikāya* (M. A. I. 132-3) and the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (A. A. II. 109-110).² The other version is found in the commentary to the *Khuddaka-Pāṭha* (Kh. A. 16-17).³ Although very similar, these two versions have some interesting differences that seem to indicate two different streams of commentarial reflection on the *Ti-saraṇa*. According to the first group of commentaries the four modes or ways (*ākāra*) of going of refuge are : (1) self-surrender or self-dedication (*attasanniyyātana*) ; (2) accepting the Buddha, *Dhamma*, and *Saṅgha* as one's highest ideal (*tappa-rāyanata*) ; (3) taking up the status of a pupil or disciple (*sissabhāvūpagamana*) ; and (4) prostrating oneself (*pañipāta*).⁴ In the *Paramatthajotikā* 1 the four modes are listed as (1) resolution (*samādāna*), (2) taking up the status of a pupil or disciple (*sissabhāvūpagamana*), (3) leading to the goal (*tappoṇatta*), and (4) self-surrender or self-dedication (*attasanniyyātana*). From the titles of the modes and from the explanations and illustrations given for them in the commentaries, we see that three of the four modes in these two versions are virtually identical : modes 2, 3, and 4 in *Kh. A.* parallel modes 3, 2, and 1 in *M. A.* The order in which the modes are given seems to be traditional and, perhaps, significant. Although listed in inverse order, the three parallel modes stand in the same relation to each other. The other mode, different in the two versions, is placed at the beginning/end of the series rather than in-between any of the three parallel modes. A list of the Pāli titles of the modes shows these similarities.

<i>Kh. A.</i>	<i>M. A.</i>
1. <i>samādāna</i>	4. <i>pañipāta</i>
2. <i>sissabhāvūpagamana</i>	3. <i>sissabhāvūpagamana</i>
3. <i>tappoṇatta</i>	2. <i>tapparāyanata</i>
4. <i>attasanniyyātana</i>	1. <i>attasanniyyātana</i>

Venerable Nyanaponika suggests that these modes represent definite stages of devotion "given (in *M. A.* and parallels) in what seems to be a descending order beginning from the highest form, complete self-surrender, and ending with the lowest, homage by prostration."⁵ In his article, Nyanaponika speculates that these modes once were regarded as formulas and taken as vows by devotees.

Those who took these vows hoped to progress from the lower vows and stages to the higher by eliminating their defilements at each stage just as in fulfilling the *jhānas* or stages of concentration.

Veñ. Nyanaponika's explanation is intriguing and accounts for some important aspects of the modes, specifically their serial order and the solemn phrase repeated after the modes, "Thus may you know me" (*M. A.* 132 and parallels). Although we cannot rule out the possibility that these modes were once administered as vows and seen as stages of devotion, the commentarial accounts do not quite seem to support this interpretation. For the commentaries refer to these modes as "various ways" and say that anyone of the four modes constitutes a valid "going for refuge" (*Kh. A.* 17 ; *M. A.* 133).

Without regarding these modes as distinct stages, we can, nevertheless, take them as illustrating the essential dynamic or intention involved in going for refuge. The modes show that one who goes for refuge should undertake to live as a disciple of the Buddha following the pattern of either the first lay disciples, Tappassu and Bhallika or the great elder Mahā-Kassapa, who inherited the Buddha's robes (*Kh. A.* 16 ; *M. A.* 133). More than this, true refuge requires that one make the Buddha, the *Dhamma*, and the *Saṅgha* one's highest ideals, *parāyana*. Nyanaponika notes that in this context the term *parāyaṇa* means "Guiding Ideal" or "the way to the Beyond." ° Re-orienting one's life to this ideal demands a sacrifice such as was made by the *Brahman* Brahmayu (*Kh. A.* 16-17 ; *M. A.* 133 ; *M. II.* 133-146) who, in order to follow the Buddha, cast aside his own considerable reputation and status as a master of the *Vedas*. Even beyond this sacrifice, however, refuge finally involves total surrender of the self. Nyanaponika is surely correct that self-surrender, *attasan-niyyatāna*, represents the highest mode of devotion. The modes of refuge in the commentaries culminate in this act of dedicating oneself completely to the Buddha as the guiding ideal. In order to take refuge in the Buddha, one must relinquish the false refuge of the ego. The commentarial analysis of the modes of going for refuge thus depicts a profound process of shifting the center of one's existence away from the self and to the Triple-Gem.

(3) What is the result or outcome of *saraṇa*? Going for refuge according to these modes of refuge is described as the attainment of *saddhā* or faith (*M. A.* 132). *Saddhā*, or faith, in this context means recognizing in the Buddha, the *Dhamma*, and the *Saṅgha* a more ultimate level of reality that transcends our ego and deciding to

orient one's life to that reality (*parāyana*). For Buddhism, this faith is not the solution to the human predicament, but understood as the subordination of ego, *saddhā*—and the refuge process—relates directly to the solution to the human predicament. To solve the predicament of ego/ignorance/suffering, Buddhists have said one must develop wisdom, replacing wrong perceptions of self and world with the true perception.

If meditation is the context for developing this wisdom, faith or *saddhā*, and refuge can be said to serve as the antecedent context for meditation and wisdom. Buddhists have been sensitive to the close relation between ethical action and the attainment of wisdom. They have described this relationship as circular: one's conduct in and attitude toward the world reinforce one's awareness and understanding of the world, which in turn reshape one's conduct and attitude toward the world, and on and on. Saving wisdom relates to life and must be lived. The truth of *anatta* or egolessness, central to the wisdom that liberates beings from their predicament, has, for example, been regarded as not merely an ontological truth, but, perhaps primarily, as an ethical or existential truth indicating a way of living that brings authentic existence. As one scholar has observed, for Theravāda Buddhism "the fundamental concern in *anatta* doctrine is not so much with its metaphysical truth—though this too is asserted with great confidence—as its experiential religious value." ⁷ Although full realization of this truth through insight lies far from the ordinary person who is mired in ignorance, the commentaries show that progress toward the truth of *anatta* begins when one subordinates the ego by means of the refuges. A person who attains *saddhā* as the modes of refuge specify can set about living the truth of *anatta*, egolessness, in preparation for complete realization of *anatta* through wisdom. This is a necessary step because as long as people live by asserting their egos they will never be able to grasp the truth of egolessness.

Anussati

(1) Who does *anussati*? To whom does *anussati* apply? The texts indicate that the practice of *anussati* is intended primarily for noble disciples, *ariyasāvakas*, rather than for ordinary persons, *puthujjanas*. In its application, therefore, *anussati* differs greatly from *saraṇa*. Buddhaghosa explains that *anussati* is successful, or has a good result (*ijjhati*), only for the spiritually advanced, for the *ariyasāvakas*. The canonical explanations of *anussati* likewise define it as a practice for *ariyasāvakas*. For example, in the *Mahānāma Sutta*

(A. III. 284), the Buddha sets out the six *anussatis* in response to a question about how an *ariyasāvaka* who has entered the stream lives (A. III. 284 ; cf. A. III. 312-317). Indicating even more clearly the degree to which *anussati* is an advanced practice, another sutta declares that the person who would practice *anussati* should have already established himself in the five faculties (*indriya*) or powers (*bala*) : faith (*saddhā*), energy (*virīya*), mindfulness (*sati*), concentration (*saṃādhi*), and wisdom (*paññā*) (A. V 328-332). That is, *anussati* represents a higher or further practice for those who have reached this advanced stage of the path.

Demonstrating once again that Theravada's methods of meditation were based upon a realistic and probably empirically-derived psychology of meditation, Buddhaghosa explains why *anussati* is intended primarily for *ariyasāvakas* (*Vism* 226). The *ariyasāvakas* have developed both their own special qualities (*guṇā*) and insight into the special qualities of the Buddha, *Dhamma*, and *Saṅgha*. Since these special qualities (*guṇā*) are the focus of meditation in *anussati*, only those who have developed these qualities can succeed at this meditation. Buddhaghosa notes that ordinary persons or *puṭhujjanas* can practice this meditation only if and to the degree that they too possess these *guṇās*.

The only other specification made in the tradition regarding the practice of *anussati* comes in commentarial statements indicating that this meditation is appropriate for these "who have gone forth out of faith" (*saddhā-pabbajita*) (*Vism.* 197). When dividing the forty meditation subjects according to the temperaments of their practitioners, Buddhaghosa relates that the first six *anussati* are suitable for persons characterized by faith (*saddhā*) (*Vism.* 114). This correlation of *anussati* and *saddhā* suggests an important link between *anussati* and *saraṇa*, a link that we will consider after examining further the nature of *anussati*.

In addition to specifying that *anussati* is for *ariyasāvakas*, Buddhaghosa also says that *anussati* suits those who have gone forth out of faith, *saddhā* (*Vism.* 197). When the forty meditation subjects are divided according to which temperaments they fit, the first six *anussatis* are said to be suitable to those persons with a faithful temperament (*Vism.* 114). This correlation of *anussati* and *saddhā* provides an important link between *anussati* and *saraṇa*, a link that we will consider after we examine further the nature of *anussati*.

(2) What is *anussati*? What does the practice of *anussati* involve? Within the area of *bhāvanā* or "mental development,"

anussati traditionally was classified as a special form of *sati*. Buddhaghosa wrote that *anussati* means *sati* that arises again and again (*Vism.* 197). Other texts also support this understanding of *anussati* (c. f. *Pug.* 25 ; *Dhs. A.* 147 ; etc.). This analysis of *anussati* seems valid because, as we shall see, the Recollections have the same functions and lead to the same results as *sati* generally.

Sati, of course, means "mindfulness" or "awareness;" and in *anussati* the meditator develops mindfulness of the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Sangha as well as of several other profitable (*kusala*) qualities or phenomena. The tradition preserved two versions of the *anussati* practice, one comprising six objects of meditation and the other ten (*Vism.* 197). Clearly, however, the version with six recollections constitutes the earlier or primary form of this practice for the six occur often in the suttas as "bases of *anussati*," *anussatiṭṭhāna* (c. f. *A. III.* 284ff, 312ff, 314f ; *A. I.* 207ff ; *A. V.* 328-331 ; *A. I.* 30 ; *S.I.* 219 ; *D. III.* 250, 280, etc.) ; whereas, the list of ten is much less frequent (*A. I.* 30 ; *Vism.* 197-227). Although Buddhaghosa treats all ten *anussatis* in the *Visuddhimagga*, he divides them into groups of the six recollections and the four other recollections and takes them up in separate chapters of the *Visuddhimagga*. The six recollections include the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Sangha, *sīla*, *cāga*, and *devatā*. The list of ten adds to these six the recollections on death (*marāṇa*), the body (*kāya*), breathing (*ānāpāna*), and peace (*upasama*). In this essay we shall treat only the six *anussatis*, which seem to represent the central form of this meditation.⁸

Let us consider briefly the way in which the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Sangha and the other three topics are made the focus of *anussati*. (a) Regarding *Buddhānussati* the suttas say that the *ariyasāvaka* reflects upon the Buddha by considering the standard "salutation to the Buddha," which is also known as the "*Kalyāṇo Kittisaddo*"⁹ (e. g. *A. III.* 284 ; *A. V.* 329). This formula of praise sets out nine distinctive qualities of the Buddha :

The Exalted one is worthy (*araṇaṃ*), fully enlightened (*sammā-sambuddha*), endowed with wisdom and virtuous conduct (*vijjācaraṇasampanna*), well-gone (*sugata*), the knower of the worlds (*lokavidū*), unsurpassed charioteer of men to be tamed (*anuttaro purisadhammasārathi*), teacher of gods and men (*satthā devamanussanaṃ*), an Enlightened One (*Buddha*), the Exalted One (*Bhagavā*) (*Vism.* 198).

In the *Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghosa relates the traditional method for reflecting in detail on each of these qualities. Recollec-

ting (*anussati*) the Buddha in this way the meditator develops awareness of Gotama's uniqueness. One recognizes that as the seventh in the line of universal Buddhas, Gotama manifested the *Dhamma* in our age. His spiritual perfection established a model for humanity. Like a caravan leader in the desert, the Buddha pointed the way to safety in the desert of existence (*Vism.* 208).

(b) In the recollection of the *Dhamma*, the meditator develops awareness of the special qualities of the *Dhamma*. Here, too, a standard salutation praising the *Dhamma* provides the basis for the meditation. The meditator considers the *Dhamma* as "well-proclaimed by the Blessed One, visible here and now, timeless, inviting one to come and see, onward-leading and to be known by the wise for themselves" (*Vism.* 213). By means of this formula the *ariyasāvaka* considers *Dhamma* as both the *pariyatti Dhamma*, the *Dhamma* of the Buddha's teaching or the scriptures, and the ninefold supramundane *Dhamma*, the *Dhamma* as comprising the four paths the four fruitions and *Nibbāna* (*Vism.* 213-215). This meditation produces a perception of *Dhamma* as that which supports (*dhāreti*), as the commentators understood it (*M. A. I.* 131). The object of *Dhammānussati* thus seems to be to awaken in the meditator an awareness of *Dhamma* as the ultimate level of reality and as "salvific truth."¹⁰

(c) To practice *Sanghānussati* the meditator contemplates the *savākasangha* made up of those who have entered the path, *ariyapuggalas*. Using another stock formula of praise, one dwells upon the special qualities of this community. They have followed the right way, followed *Dhamma*, entered the way leading to *Nibbāna* and stand as shining examples for all humanity.

(d, e, and f) The fourth, fifth and sixth *anussatis* mark a radical shift in the focus of recollection. Having become aware of the profitable qualities or virtues of the Three Gems, the Buddha, *Dhamma*, and *Sangha*, the meditator now begins to contemplate profitable qualities in his own life. The recollection of *sīla* requires the meditator to call to mind his commitment to *sīla*. *Sīla* is perceived as positive, liberating and praised by the wise (*A. III.* 286 ; *Vism.* 221). The recollection of generosity, *cāga*, develops the meditator's awareness of the advantages of generosity and living without attachment. By reflecting on a stock formula, one becomes mindful of the gain achieved by abiding openhanded, with a heart free from avarice (*A. III.* 287). The final recollection, *devatānussati*, does not appear from the title to be a meditation upon one's own virtues. The explanation reveals, however, that this *anussati* involves a comparison of the

devas' virtues with one's own virtues. Reflecting first on the many different kinds of *devas* and then upon the specific profitable qualities that enabled them to be reborn as *devas*, one next compares one's own virtue to that of the *devas*. Thereby, one becomes aware that just as the *devas* possessed faith (*saddhā*), virtue (*sīla*), learning (*suta*), generosity (*cāga*), and wisdom (*paññā*), so also have these qualities been developed in one's own life. Because these qualities are seen to have been of great profit, great advantage to the *devas*, their value in one's own life becomes clear.

(3) What is the result or outcome of *anussati*? When the texts set forth the results of *anussati*, we see clearly that *anussati* functions as a form of *sati*. It accomplishes the same ends, produces the same effects as other forms of *sati*. Donald Swearer has described the results of *sati* as "control and freedom."¹¹ That is, *sati*, mindfulness, enables a person, on the one hand, to develop greater control or restraint which leads to *samādhi*, and, on the other hand, to develop greater freedom through liberating wisdom. *Sati*, thus, represents a fundamental constituent of both streams of the meditative process as Theravāda defined it: *samātha-bhāvanā* and *vipassanā-bhāvanā*.¹² So also according to the texts, *anussati* leads to both control and freedom, the *samādhi* and *nibbāna*.

Buddhaghosa classifies the *anussatīs* among the forty meditation subjects that lead to *samādhi*. He explains that these six recollections result in the arising of the *jhāna* factors in a single moment and in the attainment of the level of *samādhi* designated as *upācāra jhāna* (*Vism.* 212). In addition, however, the texts state unequivocally that the *anussatis* produce wisdom and *nibbāna*. The *Anguttara Nikāya* contains a short sutta in which the Buddha teaches that *anussati* leads to complete dispassion, wisdom and *Nibbāna* (*A. I.* 30). Mahā-Kaccāna lauded *anussati* as a wonderful method made known by the Buddha to enable beings to free themselves from *dukkha* and to realize *nibbāna* (*A. III.* 314). Arahantship can be attained by one who practices the *anussatis*, says the Commentary to the *Saṅgiti Sutta* (*D. A. III.* 1037). Similarly, the *Visuddhimagga* relates that this meditation enables one to reach the fulfillment of *saddhā*, *sati*, *paññā* and *punna*; it provides an opportunity to penetrate the highest truth (*Vism.* 212, 228). To document this claim, Buddhaghosa cites the example of Phussadeva Thera who became an Arahant by means of the *Buddhānussati* (*Vism.* 228).

That *anussati* leads to the dual result of *samādhi* and *nibbāna* can also be seen from the standard description of this meditation in

the suttas. The *Mahānāma Sutta* (A. III. 284-288) presents this standard description which is repeated, either in full or in part, in numerous other suttas (c. f. A. V. 328-32; A. III. 312-14; A. III. 314.17). This description specifies two kinds of results issuing from the practice of *anussati*; and both of these kinds of results seem to imply the development of both *samādhi* and *paññā*. First, by recollecting these six objects, the meditator overcomes the three "unprofitable roots" (*ākusala mūla*), namely *rāga*, *dosa*, and *moha* (A. III. 285). In the context of the Theravada system, these three factors have been understood as the three causes of bad karma (*Dhs.* 1058-1061). Their eradication has been said to come about either by the attainment of the Jhānas (*Vism.* 40f) or by entering the path to *Nibbāna* and becoming a Once Returner (*D.* I. 156, III. 107), or both. Second, these meditations are said to culminate in a series of positive mental states that we can summarize as happiness (*pāmuṃja*), joy (*pīti*), calming of the body (*passaddhakāyo*), ease (*sukha*), and, finally, concentration of mind (*cittam samādhīyati*) (A. III. 285). This same sequence of resulting mental states is used elsewhere in the tradition to indicate both the mental constituents of the first *jhāna* (*D.* I. 73) and the factors that produce liberation (*vimutti*) and Arahantship (A. III. 21).

Conclusion :

We have seen that *sarana* and *anussati* represent complementary practices or means. Both center upon the Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Sangha*. *Sarana* represents a means for beginners to approach the Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Sangha*, while *anussati* represents a means for more advanced disciples to relate to this triad. In the complementarity of these two means, in the ways that *sarana* and *anussati*, respectively, employ the triad of the Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Sangha*, we see the central intention of the Theravada system, the soteriological process. This process can be described as a dynamic of faith and meditation-leading to concentration, wisdom and liberation. In *sarana*, the Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Sangha* function as symbols of the ultimate truth or the ultimate level of existence. As symbols they stand before beginners in the way and enable them to orient their lives to the truth, to subordinate the ego and to develop *saddhā*.

In the practice of *anussati*, however, the Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Sangha* function not as external symbols but as foci of the mental process of the meditator. The texts report that the meditator experiences a profound sense of the presence of the Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Sangha* (*Vism.* 213, 218, 221; cf. *Dhs.* A. 147). This enabling

presence of the triad leads the meditator's thoughts toward the plane of truth and wisdom (*Vism.* 213, 218, 221). By developing an intense awareness of the Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Sangha*, the meditator appropriates in his own life the positive qualities and realities symbolized by this triad. This kind of mental appropriation is fundamental to the way of *bhāvanā* or mental development in the Theravāda tradition. Nāgasena, in the *Milinda Panha*, explains to the king that the distinguishing characteristic of *sati* is repeated concentration upon and cultivation of desirable qualities to the exclusion of undesirable qualities (*Mil.* 37). Similarly, the *Itivuttaka* relates that the way to *Nibbāna* lies through dwelling upon and being mindful of the *Dhamma* and profitable qualities (*It.* 81-83). *Anussati*, thus, provides a means to this kind of positive mental conditioning.

This complementarity of *sarana* and *anussati* is implied in the *Upasatha Sutta*'s teaching that *anussati* represents the higher means by which *ariyasāvakas* observe *uposatha* day (*A.* I. 205-215). Although beginners observe the *uposatha* by the means of the refuges and precepts, advanced disciples practice *anussati*. Thus, we can say that *anussati* represents the ultimate form of refuge, the kind of refuge that the Buddha meant when he said, "Dwell making yourself your island, yourself your refuge; do not dwell with any other refuge. Dwell making the *Dhamma* your island, the *Dhamma* your refuge; do not dwell with any other refuge" (*D.* II. 100). The meditator who dwells recollecting the Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Sangha* and the positive qualities associated with them reaches, the tradition has maintained, the goal of mental purification and *nibbāna* (*A.* III. 312, 314-315, 285).

FOOTNOTES :

1. John Ross Carter, "The Notion of Refuge in the Theravāda Buddhist Tradition," Chapter IV in *Studies in Pāli and Buddhism*, A. K. Narain, general editor (New Delhi, B. R. Publishing Co., 1979), p. 43.

2. *Dīgha Nikāya Atthakathā, Sumangalavilāsinī*, (D. A.) 3 vols., edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Carpenter (London, Luzac and Co., 1885).

3. The *Khuddaka-Pāṭha* together with its commentary *Paramatthajotikā I*, H. Smith, ed. (London, Luzac and Co., Ltd., 1959).

4. For purposes of giving references to this version of the commentarial explanation of the *Ti-Sarana*, we shall cite the page numbers in the *Majjhimanikaya Atthakathā* only.

5. Venerable Nyanaponika, *The Threefold Refuge*, Wheel Publication No. 76 (Kandy, Buddhist Publication Society, 1965) p. 17.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

7. Winston L. King, *In the Hope of Nibbāna* (Lasalle, Illinois, Open Court Publishing Co., 1964), p. 13.

8. In another article I have treated *marāṇa-anussati* which stands first in the group of four recollections. See my "Theravada Buddhism's Meditations on Death and the Symbolism of Initiatory Death," *History of Religions*, (forthcoming).

9. See P. Vajiranaṇa Mahāthera, *Buddhist Meditation in Theory and practice* (Colombo : M. D. Gunasena & Co., Ltd, 1962), p. 185.

10. John Ross Carter, "Dhamma as a Religious Concept : A Brief Investigation of Its History in the Western Academic Tradition and Its Centrality Within the Sinhalese Theravada Tradition," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 44, 4 (1976), p. 670.

11. Donald K. Swearer, "Control and Freedom : The Structure of Buddhist Meditation in the Pāli suttas," *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. XXIII, 4 (Oct. 7), pp. 440-441.

12. For a more complete discussion of *sati* see my above mentioned article on *marāṇasati*.

Background of Buddhism :

A Brief Survey

Anukul Chandra Banerjee

The sixth century B. C. witnessed the origin and growth of Buddhism which subsequently became one of the greatest international religions. A short survey of the various conditions and the trends of thought in the midst of which it originated is a necessity for a proper understanding and appreciation of Buddhism.

We now propose to deal with the political condition. India was divided into sixteen political divisions at or shortly prior to the appearance of Buddhism. In the Buddhist literature these divisions are technically known as *Ṣoḍaśa Mahājanapada*. The rulers of these Janapadas were in constant conflict with one another and, as such, could not establish a big kingdom. These Janapadas were Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśī, Kośala, Vajji, Malla, Ceti, Vamśa, Kuru, Pañcāla, Maccha, Surasena, Assaka, Avantī, Gandhāra and Kamboja. The *Dīghanikāya*, *Aṅguttaranikāya*, *Cullaniddesa*, *Mahāvastu* as also the *Bhagavatīsūtra* of the Jains refer to these Janapadas. But they lack unanimity as to their names. The *Lalitavistara*, however, refers to these sixteen Janapadas without mentioning the names.

Most of these Janapadas had monarchical constitution, while some others were republics. The kings of Magadha, Kośala, Vatsya, Avantī and others had monarchical form of government. They were in constant conflict with neighbouring kingdoms to extend their suzerainty over them. Vajji, including the confederate clans of Vajji, Licchavi, Jñatrika and the like were prominent among the republics. As there was no king to rule over the territory, its administration was carried on by a select committee. The Buddhist and Jain texts mention other republican states such, as Malla, Śākya, Moriya and others, apart from Vajji.

Here comes the social condition. There were four grades known as colours (*varṇas*), the unique features of great Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sudras. This system of social grades subsequently developed into a rigid caste system. At the head were the Brahmins who acted as priests in the religious ceremonies. They held a unique

position in the social structure. The Kṣatriyas engaged themselves in wars and administration. The Vaiśyas carried on agriculture, rearing of cattle, trade and commerce. The Śūdras were assigned to menial works and were, in fact, slaves of the society. But all claims to superiority were based on the ground of birth. Women held a very negligible position in the society. A good system of education was prevalent among the men of the three upper castes. Women of the upper caste had, however, the privilege of receiving it and that also was very limited.

Let us have now to consider the economic condition. Trade and commerce which usually play a vital part in the economic life of the people were not unknown in this age. The Buddhist and Jain works tell us that traders became very rich by carrying on sea-borne trade. Bullock carts were the means of transport on the land, while boats were employed for places on the banks of the rivers. Several types of arts and crafts are also mentioned in the ancient works. No silver and gold coins were current then. Banking system was unknown in those days. Gold, silver and other valuable things were buried in pots in the ground. People of the upper caste were rich and prosperous, while the lower caste were poor and had no position in the society.

Lastly, let us now turn to the religious condition. It is a rare occasion in human history that the world produced in the sixth century B. C. mighty religious personages in several countries. H. G. Wells observes that "the sixth century B. C. was indeed one of the most remarkable in all history. Everywhere men's minds were displaying a new boldness. Everywhere they were waking up out of traditions and kingships and priests and bold sacrifices and asking the most penetrating questions. It is as if the race had reached a stage of adolescence—after a childhood of 20,000 years". In Greece appeared Parmenides and Empedocles, in Iran Zarathustra, in China Laotse and Confucius and in India Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha. Apart from them, there were mighty thinkers who pursued the views of their predecessors and worked out new trends of thought. Thus, this period is of great importance from the point of view of the history of religion. India was, no doubt, in the maze of interacting philosophy and religious views when Buddhism arose. The Vedic India advocated the cult of sacrifice for happy life in this world and as also in the next. It could not fully secure for the performer the objects for which the sacrifices were performed. Merits achieved through them were efficacious only for a short time. They could not give eternal peace, but could bring only temporary happiness and the mind of the

people was naturally directed to things eternal. The trend of the views, therefore, turned against the rigidity of the Vedic sacrificial system. People were inquisitive of true knowledge which could bring eternal peace. Thus a new mode of life was found out. It was the life of renunciation as against the life devoted to the pleasure of senses. As a consequence, the system of four Āśramas, *i. e.* four stages of life evolved. The four Āśramas were : Brahmacharya (celibate life), Gārhastya (household life), Vānaprastha (forest life) and Sanyāsa (life of renunciation). The first is concerned with education, the second with family-life, the third with retirement of household life and the fourth with meditational practices in order to realise the highest truth. The last two were considered favourable for contemplation and obtaining true knowledge and peace of mind. Man's mind, therefore, turned away from the old course and began to think, in a better way than the performance of Vedic rites and rituals. In the Upaniṣadas we find the great quest for truths for the attainment of salvation and peace. In most of them are discussed the nature of Brahman, the soul and transmigration and doctrine of Karma. Brahman is real, the universe is false (māyā) and there is no difference between a living being (jīva) and Brahman—these are, in short, the fundamentals of the Upaniṣadas. Through the comprehension of the true knowledge the realisation of Brahman could be obtained. The emphasis was thus laid on deliverance through knowledge acquired by meditation and the practice of yoga rather on rituals (Karmamārga). This could be done by one-self without the assistance of the priests. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣada (1.3.38) we also find a prayer which reads :

From the unreal lead me to the Real I

From darkness lead me to light

From death lead me to immortality.¹

This vital deviation from the Brahmanic teaching indeed paved the way for more lively and autonomous thinking. The cultured classes of the period were thus in favour of deeper aspect of learning as opposed to the elaborate and extensive Vedic sacrifices. The common people were still steeped in superstitious beliefs and rituals. They used to believe that soul dwells within the bodies of men, animals, plants, etc. all alike. In other words, they believe in animism. The worship of trees, serpents, Yakṣas, Gandharvas and the like were also invoked in this age. We are told that the worship of sacred trees was connected with the Yakṣa cult. A few trees were, in fact, considered to be sacred because they were believed to be the abode of Yakṣas. They are generally regarded as super human

beings worthy of respect, but of some lower status than the devas, (gods). From the Pali *Mahāvamsa* we learn that the Yakṣa cult was very popular in the pre-Buddhist time. It is seen that such popular beliefs and practices at this period had also a considerable influence in India.

It is striking to note in this context that the Buddhist texts do not refer to any Upaniṣad or the Upaniṣadic teacher. Some scholars maintain that Buddhism accepted most of the Upaniṣadic thoughts and for this reason it is silent in this regard. Dr. N. Dutt² holds that "it is idle to say that Buddhism issued out of the Upaniṣads and was a phase in the evolution of Upaniṣadic thought. On the other hand it may be stated that Buddhism was a revolt against the Upaniṣadic thought and it was this denial of soul, which undermined the belief in the efficacy of the sacrificial rituals and ceremonies." Such was the condition of religion when Buddhism originated.

In the Buddhist texts there are frequent references to the six non-Buddhist teachers who were respected by the wise, nobles and kings alike. They were well-known throughout the country as founders of schools of thought. A few of them were senior contemporaries of Gautama Buddha and were also followed by a large body of disciples. The beliefs held by all these teachers were indeed held in great esteem and veneration by the then people of India, but the religion and philosophy of Buddhism is distinguished from every one of them.

Those six illustrious teachers apart, there were a large number of eminent Brahmanical teachers and parivrājakas. The Brahmanical teachers were strictly following Vedic tradition. They recited the Vedic hymns and earned their livelihood by officiating as priests in the sacrifices.

Kings as well as a section of people patronized them. *Kūṭadanta*,³ *Tevijja*⁴ and other Pali suttas refer to the Vedic rituals and sacrifices which were in vogue in those days. Brahmins, well-versed in the Vedic rituals, were only requisitioned for the performance of the sacrifices. They also enjoyed grants of land and property under the patronage of the King. They were, indeed, very wealthy and sometimes performed sacrifices at heavy expenses. The parivrājakas were, on the other hand, a class of wandering teachers who had no permanent residence. They used to wander from place to place almost throughout the year. Their main objectives were to enter into discussion with other religious teachers 'on matter of ethics, philosophy, nature lore and mysticism.' The Pali texts mention that

halls were erected for the accommodation of the parivrājakas. Elsewhere we also find special places set apart for them in the groves near the settlement. It was in such places that parivrājakas could lodge and hold discussion. People living near the places where the parivrājakas stopped, visited them with a view to showing their respect and derive benefit by, their teachings. The life of a parivrājaka was open alike to brahmins and non-brahmins. Even a woman could embark on the career of such a parivrājaka. "Out of these parivrājakas were formed, from time to time, groups who expressed their allegiance to a certain teacher, or subscribed to some common tenets, marks, or style of dress. Of these we may refer to the Māgaṇḍikas, Vekhanassas, Pārāśariyas, orders of the six Teachers : Saṅjaya, Pakudha, Ajita, Maṅkhalī, Gosāla, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta and Gautama Buddha (Sākyaputtiya-Samaṇas); and to the Jaṭilas, Tedaṇḍikas, Avirudhakas, and Devadhammikas."⁵ The parivrājakas "formed an important part of the religious and philosophical movement of Ancient India".

The *Brahmajāla Sutta*⁶ enumerates a list of sixty-two forms of philosophical speculations about the self or soul and the world existing at the time of the advent of Buddhism.

They are traditionally known as sixty-two heresies (dvāsaṭṭhiyo diṭṭhiyo). They fall under two divisions : (i) the speculation about the past (pubbantakappika) and (ii) those about the future (aparantakappika). This sutta also tells us that "as a fisherman were to catch all the fishes and other creatures of the pond with his net, just so, all the wrong philosophical views have been caught in this enumeration". These views may broadly be divided under the following heads ;

(1) Four kinds of Sassatavāda, i. e., those who hold that the self or soul and the universe are eternal.

(2) Four kinds of Ekaccasassatavāda, i. e., those who hold that the self and universe are eternal in some respect and in some not.

(3) Four kinds of Antānantikā, i. e., those who hold that the universe is finite as well as infinite.

(4) Four kinds of Amarāvikkhapikā, i. e., those who equivocate about good and evil.

(5) Two kinds of Adhiccassamuppannikā, i. e., those who hold that the soul and the world originate without a cause.

(6) Sixteen kinds of Uddhamāghātanikasaññivādā, i. e., those who hold that the soul is conscious after death.

(7) Eight kinds of Uddamāghātanikaasaññivādā, i. e., those who hold that the soul is unconscious after death.

(8) Eight kinds of Uddamāghātanikanevasaññināsaññivādā, i.e., those who hold that the soul is neither conscious nor unconscious after death.

(9) Seven kinds of Ucchedavādā, i. e., those who hold that the soul is extinct after death.

(10) Five kinds of Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavādā, i. e., those who hold that Nibbāna can be attained in this life.

Of the aforesaid sixty-two views the first eighteen refer to the speculations about the past (pubbantakappikā), while the remaining forty-four to those about the future (aparantakappikā). It is thus evident that all these wrong views of philosophical speculations originated owing to the ignorance of time—pubbanta (priority) and aparanta (posteriority).

Notes and References :

1. tamaso mā jyotirgamaya, asato mā saṁ gamaya, mṛtyoḥ mā amṛtaṁ gamaya—
2. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 2 & 3, p. 116.
3. Dīghanikāya, vol—1, p. p.—127-139.
4. Ibid, p. p. 135-253,
5. N. Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, vol—1, p-33.
6. Dīghanikāya, Vol-1, p. p. 1-46.

The Total Number of Verses in the *Buddhavaṃsa*

Devaprasad Guha

The *Buddhavaṃsa*, a late text of the Pali canon, is a metrical composition. According to the *Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana* edition, the book contains a total of 1,070 stanzas. To us, however, the figure appears to be misleading, if not wrong. It seems that the verses have not been numbered in the way they should have been done.

Verses 12-21 of the fourth section, known as Koṇḍañña-buddhavaṃsa, give the following text :

12. Padhānaṃ padahitvāna katvā dukkarakārikam,
assatthamūle sambuddho bujjhissati mahāyaso.
13. Imassa janikā mātā Māyā nāma bhavissati,
pitā Suddhodano nāma, ayaṃ hessati Gotamo.
14. Kolito Upatisso ca aggā hessanti sāvakā,
Ānando nām' upaṭṭhāko upaṭṭhissat' imaṃ jinaṃ.
15. Khemā Uppalavaṇṇā ca aggā hessanti sāvikā,
bodhi tassa bhagavato assattho ti pavuccati.
16. Citto ca Hatthālavako aggā hessant' upaṭṭhakā,
Nandamātā ca Uttarā aggā hessant' upaṭṭhikā;
āyu vassasataṃ tassa Gotamassa yasassino.
17. Idaṃ sutvāna vacanaṃ asamassa mahesino,
āmoditā naramarū, "Buddhabijaṃ kira ayaṃ".
18. ukkuṭṭhisaddā vattanti, apphoṭenti hasanti ca,
katañjali namassanti dasasahassi-devatā ;
19. "Yad' imassa lokanāthassa virajjhissāma sāsanaṃ,
anāgatamhi addhāne hessāma sammukhā imaṃ.
20. Yathā manussā naḍiṃ tarantā paṭitthitaṃ virajjhiya,
heṭṭhātitthe gahetvāna uttaranti mahānadiṃ,
21. evameva mayaṃ sabbe, yadi muñcām' imaṃ jinaṃ,
anāgatamhi addhāne hessāma sammukhā imaṃ."

The section following, Maṅgalabuddhavamsa, has its thirteenth verse as :

Padhānaṃ padahitvāna . pe...
hessāma sammukhā imaṃ.

Evidently, by using *-pe-*, the learned editorial board avoided repeating the excerpt of the fourth section quoted above.

The same feature is found repeated in a number of subsequent sections where, as in the case of the fifth, the very same verse

Padhānaṃ padahitvāna...pe...
hessāma sammukhā imaṃ

occurs in place of the ten verses of section IV quoted above. Given below are the sections and verses where have occurred the said repetitions :

Sections	Verse Nos.	Sections	Verse Nos.	Sections	Verse Nos.
VI	19	XI	16	XVI	12
VII	13	XII	13	XVII	11
VIII	14	XIII	14	XVIII	11
IX	15	XIV	16	XIX	14
X	14	XV	13	XX	10

Now, in section XXI, verses 14-22 read as :

14. Ahu Kapilavhayā rammā nikkhamitvā tathāgato padhānaṃ padahitvāna katvā dukkarakārikam,
15. ajapālarukkkhamūlasmim nisiditvā tathāgato tattha pāyāsaṃ paggayha Nerañjaram upehiti.
16. Nerañjarāya tīramhi pāyāsaṃ ada so jino, paṭiyatta-varamaggena bodhimūlam upehiti.
17. Tato padakkhiṇaṃ katvā bodhimaṇḍaṃ anuttaro, assatthamūle sambodhim bujjhissati mahāyaso.
18. Imassa janikā mātā Māyā nāma bhavissati, pitā Suddhodano nāma, ayaṃ hessati Gotamo.
19. Anāsavā vitarāgā santacittā samāhitā Kolito Upatisso ca aggā hessanti sāvakā, Ānando nām' upaṭṭhāko upaṭṭhissat' imaṃ jinaṃ.
20. Khemā Uppalavaṇṇā ca aggā hessanti sāvikā anāsavā vitarāgā santacittā samāhitā ; bodhi tassa bhagavato assattho ti pavuccati,
21. Citto ca Hatthālavako aggā hessant' upaṭṭhakā, Nandamātā ca Uttarā aggā hessant' upaṭṭhikā ; āyu vassasaṭaṃ tassa Gotamassa mahesino.

.. 22.. Idam sutvāna vacanam .. *pe* ..
hessāma sammukhā imam.

Here, by inserting . *pe* ..in verse 22, the learned editors are found to have evidently condensed the entire text of verses 17-21 of section IV quoted above.

Again, verse 13 of section XXI happens to be :

Ahu Kapilavhayā rammā . *pe*..
hessāma sammukhā imam.

This one is nothing but the condensed form of the excerpt of section XXI quoted above. This very verse of section XXII is again found repeated as the 16th verse of section XXIII, the 11th one of section XXIV, and the 13th verse of section XXV.

Facts being as stated above, it is felt that, had the learned editors preferred to put continuous numbers for all the verses which have been presented in condensed form, instead of numbering them in the way they have been done, there would have been virtually no possibility of the confusion that has so unfortunately crept into the text.

It is, therefore, proposed that a reassessment be done in respect of the total number of verses in each of the sections V to XXV, and we suggest the following emendations :

Sections	Number of Verses	
	as in the text	as suggested
V	32	41
VI	34	43
VII	29	38
VIII	30	39
IX	29	38
X	29	38
XI	33	42
XII	31	40
XIII	31	40
XIV	36	45
XV	27	36
XVI	26	35
XVII	25	34
XVIII	24	33
XIX	28	37
XX	25	34
XXI	37	41
XXII	28	41
XXIII	30	43
XXIV	27	40
XXV	29	42
total ...	620	820

Thus, there is the difference of 200 verses, according to the two reckonings mentioned above.

We shall now furnish the details of the number of verses in sections I to IV and XXVI to XXIX in respect of which there is no dispute.

Sections	Number of Verses
I	81
II	187
III	31
IV	38
XXVI	51
XXVII	24
XXVIII	20
XXIX	18
<hr/>	
total ..	450

Now, adding this number 450 with the ones 620 and 820 calculated above, we get the grand totals as 1,070 and 1,270 according to the two different reckonings.

In view of the discussions made above, it may be suggested that the total number of verses in the *Buddhavaṃsa* should be reckoned as 1,270, and not 1,070 as contended by the learned editors of the Burmese version under consideration.

It may also be added that the Devanāgarī edition of the text, published at Nalanda in 1959, contains 1,070 stanzas. We do feel that this one too needs to be amended in respect of the total number of verses.

Gautama Buddha and the Vajrayana Pantheon

Syam Sundar Banerjee

The Buddha was great in organisational abilities. His personality and lofty leadership worked as natural check to all troubles. But, inspite of this success, full discipline could not be maintained in the Buddhist organisation, particularly, in the later days of the Buddha's life. The Saṅgha actively headed by the Buddha in men and matters, efficiently managed heterogenous elements, diversified activities and many administrative problems. But, still, Bhikkhu Devadatta's rivalry and hostility to the Buddha testify that the Buddha was not completely free from schismatic difficulties.

After the Buddha's demise the situation sharply turned. So long the Buddha was alive, he was always alert to his commitments. By sympathetic understanding, benevolent and rational outlook, efficient management and, above all, always putting himself in front of the troubles in time, the Buddha maintained peace and order and piloted the Saṅgha to continuous progress.

The Buddha's death encouraged dissidents in the Order, although such Saṅgha-inmates were small in number. Such a dissident was the monk Subhadda. Subhadda's unclear mind below the yellow robes has been exposed in the Vinaya Cullavagga after the expiry of the Master. Amidst genuine mass-condolence at the mango-grove of Kusinārā before the dead body of the Buddha, Bhikkhu Subhadda's words of dissidence were heard as hot iron blows. Subhadda in rebellious manner advised the congregation to stop mourning and, instead, feel jubilant for the freedom they had just regained since the Buddha was no more and their serfdom had ended.

The personality and attainments of the Buddha automatically worked as check to possible disorders but the unfortunate schismatic possibilities, however few, caused Buddha's worries. After the expiry of the Master, dissidence within the Saṅgha grew more

and more. The original Buddhism made philosophical speculations which was concerned mainly with ethical values, catholic compassion, love for truth and honest living. Dogmatism, backed by schismatic trend, disturbed the progress of the Buddhist Saṅgha and Buddhism itself to a certain extent when the Buddha was no more.

There were dissidents at the First Buddhist Council at Rājagṛha after the death of the Master and in the next hundred years the differences increased to encourage a number of dissident monks to tear off the tie of unification with the orthodox brethren after the Second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī. These dissidents, with their followers, are known in the history of Buddhism as Mahasāṅghikas. The rift marks the beginning of the Mahāyāna.

The Mahāyānists looked for new ideas, new way of life, and they called themselves the members belonging to the Mahāyāna, the Greater Vehicle. They accepted the old Buddhist ideal of compassion as their basic tenet and on urge of compassion they declared that they would not crave for their own salvation like the orthodox group. Instead, undergoing sufferings, they would employ all accumulated merit for the welfare of all beings of the World. This Mahāyāna ideal has been superbly expressed by the solemn decision of the compassion-incarnated great Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara : Yā (tā) vadavalokiteśvarasya Bodhisattvasya dṛṣṭapratijñā na paripuritā bhavanti sarva sattvāḥ sarvaduḥṣebhyaḥ parimokṣitāḥ yāvadanuttarāyāḥ samyak sambodhau na pratiṣṭhāpitā bhavanti. (Guṇa-kāraṇ-ḍavyūha, R. Mitra, Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, 1882).

Side by side with the big organisation of the orthodox Buddhist Saṅgha of the Sthaviravadis (Theravadis) the Mahāyānists organised themselves rather speedily and soon became a strong dynamic force. Philosophical speculations continued to create conditions of the emergence of new ideological thoughts in the Mahāyāna stream. As in the Sthaviravāda, if not more, dhyāna or meditation was intensive here. In Vājrāyāna, one of the important schools evolved herefrom, dhyāna was a vital factor.

The Vājrāyāna Pantheon consists of numerous gods and goddesses. There were Hindu gods and goddesses when the Buddha preached but no divinity flashed in the imagination of the Master to be figured as Buddhist gods or goddesses. In Vajrayāna we are overwhelmed at the sight of countless Buddhist deities when we find none of them in the early Buddhist literature or early Buddhist art.

Gautama Buddha cared the least for the gods. Contrary to the Brahmanical Practice of attaining emancipation through the

favour of the divinities prayed for, the Buddha declared that a man himself was capable of attaining deliverance exclusively by his own merits, by his own deeds, and for this noble achievement no divine help was necessary. In early Buddhist literature we sometimes come across a few Brahmanical gods like Brahmā or Indra in Buddha's conclave or surroundings. To a serious observer even this introduction of few gods may appear to be later interpolation in the early Buddhist literature in view of the logical and ethical perspective of Buddha's environment. Even if such introduction was allowed by the Buddha, there is still a justification of the same. The Buddha knew that the entrants to his religion were accustomed to the Brahmanical practices and belief in gods and goddesses was deep-rooted in their minds. In most cases they were not fully used to the new condition. Appreciating their psychiatric set-up the Buddha might have allowed the innocent and insignificant appearance of several Hindu gods in his discourses. It is never a thing to forget that the religion of the Buddha was a salvage to the commoners primarily.

The Buddha himself had no weakness or attraction for gods and, on the whole, he did not give the gods any weighty consideration in his religion. For his personal deification he was the least interested. He was conscious that whatever greatness he might have achieved, he was, it was because, only a man, and although some of his devout disciples were eager to deify him, he himself refused to admit it. One day when his cousin Nanda, newly converted by him, came to pay obeisance to his feet, Buddha did not accept it. Instead of bending the head at his feet in devotion, Buddha advised Nanda to do befitting good deeds to prove his devotion towards him. Far from self-deification, Buddha was against the commemoration of his earthly existence by setting up his statue or image. It is written in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* that the Buddha's leading disciple Ānanda asked the dying Master what would be his substitute to them when he would be no more in this World. The Buddha instantly directed Ānanda to accept his words as his best substitute. He instructed Ānanda and his other host of followers assembled around his death-bed that day at Kusinārā not to think in terms of the expiry of the Teacher but to feel the presence of the Teacher in the instructions of 'Dhamma' and 'Vinaya' so long imparted by him. Little before this, in the same Sutta the Buddha had expressed his approval of the worship of his body-relic only for lay disciples but the bhikkhus were not permitted to do the same. This again indicates how keen the Buddha was to keep his monastic order

totally away from theism. In place of such worship of body—remains, the Buddha asked the Bhikkhus to engage themselves in truthful errands earnestly and resolutely.

The Buddha discouraged deification and he never expressed willingness to be commemorated by images. The monuments of Bharhut and Sanchi have wonderful specimens of early Buddhist art, but Buddha-figures are conspicuous by their absence in these monuments. In place of figures of the Master, we have symbols representing Him here, — the Bodhi-Tree, the Wheel, the Foot-prints, the Stūpa, etc.

The Buddha was given anthropomorphic representation by the beginning of the Christian era by foreign devotees, Greeks and Kushanas, almost simultaneously in North-West India, Gandhara and Mathura regions. The figurisation of the Master gained quick popularity to Buddha's Indian devotees also. This figurisation at times had been incredibly profuse. Tseng Chi, the Chinese traveller on pilgrimage to India in the 7th Century A. D. had written that 1,00,000 Buddha images were daily made by the order of the Buddhist King Rājabhāta of the Khaḍga dynasty of Vaṅga and Samatāṭa (History of Bengal, Dacca University Publication, Vol-I, p. 414). Thus the love for the Buddha and for art together with the habitual predilection for anthropomorphism of the devotees foiled the ethical preference of the Master in his own homeland.

The tragedy thus began continued further. The Buddha could not occupy the throne of Indian Buddhist art all along the passage of time. By the ninth century A. D. Vājrayāna, a Mahāyānik off-shoot, influenced the Buddhist Art heavily with its philosophical speculations. The Buddha-centred old Buddhist art-forms were mostly by-passed by the Vājrayānists and countless new gods and goddesses were invented by them for replacement. The Buddha with his innumerable life-stories, past and present, went aside to make room to these newcomers in Buddhist Art.

The empty showcase of Buddha's time was filled up by countless gods and goddesses in the days of Vājrayāna. If one goes through the invaluable books of Gordon (A. K.—The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism, Columbia University Press, New York, 1939), Clark (W. E.—Two Lamaistic Pantheons, 2 Vols, Harvard Yen-ching Institute Monograph Series) and Getty (A.—The Gods of Northern Buddhism, Oxford, 1914) or the *Sādhana-mālā* (2 Vols., Edited by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. 25 & No. 41)

and The *Nispanṇayogāvali* of Abhayakara Gupta (Edited by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, Gaekward Oriental Series, No. 109) on the Vājrāyāna gods and goddesses, one will surely be astounded at the huge number of deities as well as the range of their conception.

In Vajrayāna Goutama Buddha, the historical personage to promulgate Buddhism, has been pushed back. Vajrayānists have not totally discarded him ; the Buddha has been accepted by them only as a point in an ever-flowing process. Gautama was a Buddha, there were many other Buddhas before him and many more would achieve Bodhi after him. On this consideration the Vajrayānists gave the Buddha a minor god's status. ¹

Notes and References :

1. Goutama Buddha has been given two minor representation as Vajrāsana and Durgatiparisodhana in the big volumes describing gods and goddesses of Vajrayana Pantheon

Elephant in Buddhist Tradition and Art

Kalyan Kumar Ganguli

Indian mind has always held a great fascination for animals of all types and a regard for the life that exists in animals based upon the belief that the consciousness existing among human beings and animals were the same. From this awareness probably flowed the deep and abiding compassion for animal life in the Indian tradition. Among the animals there have been manifest inclinations towards ferocity and violence in varying degrees and a sense of fear for the same has been responsible for man's waging an endless war of extermination against the animals. This has resulted in almost complete extermination of animal life upon the surface of the World. It was only in India that effort had been made to understand the basis of animal life and existence and in its approach towards the animal world, Indian tradition showed one of its distinctiveness. The violence inherent in certain species of animals did not prompt the Indian to exterminate the beast of prey though hunting was one of the recognised pastimes of the royalty here as well. But the tradition from a very early stage started evolving a feeling of understanding and compassion for the animal world irrespective of the varying degree of violence existent therein. This approach probably started from as early as the Vedic days. The wide appraisal of the variety of animals appearing upon the seals found from the Harappan sites also bear evidence to this approach. It may be pointed out in this connection that art traditions in countries like Egypt, Mesopotamia and China etc. bear ample evidence of fear and hatred toward the animals revealed in scenes of hunting and killing of animals. Harappan Seals, bearing representation of numerous animals are significantly free from this approach of hatred or fear; on the contrary those probably already reveal somewhat sympathetic and loving appreciation of animal life and existence.

This approach, however, had reached a height of logical perfection with the Buddhists who had revealed the most sympathetic and understanding appreciation of the secret of animal life. This

might have been a common inheritance among the Jains as well, but the Buddhists had revealed a much better regard for the animal life. This appreciation can be traced in some incidents of the life of Buddha in which the Lord is found to fondle a sheep, or caress a deer, receive a cup of honey from a monkey or be revered by a host of elephants. His choice of the deer park as a suitable site for preaching the First Sermon may also have some bearing on this issue. But the *durenidāna* stories recounting the earlier births of the Master in the form of animals of different species probably reveal the deeper side of appreciation of animal life.

Of these animals some had gained a little predominance above the others having been associated with the Master in a variety of symbolic implication. Of these the lion, the horse, the bull and the elephant featuring upon the abacus of the column at Sarnath had envisaged a fixed pattern. All these animals have been known to bear some or other symbolic association with the Buddha. But among these again, the elephant probably had gained a considerable preeminence. In one of his previous incarnations the Master had been born as a stupendous Six Tusker male elephant, the *Chaddanta*, among the artistic representations of which, the idyllic panels at Ajanta mark a significant height in the realisation of an animal theme in painting. The splendid expanse of a watershed with bowing trees around shelters the romping elephants among whom the Six Tusker's majestic gait raises him to such a height of meaningful existence as no person probably would miss the impact of the artistic appeal of the whole scene. The elephant had undoubtedly emerged as the animal of the most glorified genre with which the Indian mind had established a communication of the closest type. This sense of communication had been fully revealed in the belief that the Master had ordained himself to be conceived by the mother in the form of a white elephant of the most noble and stately bearing. This elephant, *Airāvata* of the tradition, was *gajottama*, the supreme elephant and the Master descended into the womb of his mother under this form to be celebrated around the World.

This elephant is shown emerging from the rock at Dhauri or in the form of a young one upon the column set up at Lumbini or upon the abacus of the Sarnath column, all due to the munificence of Aśoka. But the majesty and the gait of the animal had nowhere been surpassed the representation superbly imposed upon a panel at Amaravati where the elephant is shown being carried in triumph upon a Dolā in procession.

The elephant according to the tradition is the lord of directions and if the elephant associated with Buddha was *Airāvata*, then according to the tradition it was associated with the East. One point in this connection may be mentioned though the relevance of the same may be difficult to establish yet for sometime. Of the Dikpatis, Indra is the lord of the East while Varuṇa is the lord of the West. Varuṇa, we know had been the same as Ahura-majda, the lord of the Avestic people of Iran while Indra remained the lord of the Vedic people of India. No great imagination may be necessary to recognise not only the eastern origin but also the eastern association of Indra. According to the Pali tradition, Dhṛtarāṣṭra instead of Indra is known as the lord of the North, while Virupākṣa, Virudhaka and Kuvera are the lords of the other three directions. When the people envisaged in the Avesta and Rīgveda were living in close proximity and the Indus basin was yet abounding in elephants, Indra might have appeared somewhere in the vicinity of that Indus region where elephants abounded, but by the times of the Buddha the elephant had already become an eastern phenomenon. Kauṭilya speaks of elephants of different varieties among which those of Kalīṅga, Aṅga, Karuṣa and Prācyawere the best (Kaliṅga-Aṅga-gajaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ prācyas̥ceti-Karuṣajaḥ. *Kautilya, ed. Samāsastrī* p 50). It was no wonder that Lord Buddha, an extreme luminery, had been associated with the Supreme animal of the East.

Impact of Buddhism on the Folk Religion of Bengal

Subhash Chandra Banerjee

In India Buddhism came into existence in the 6th Century B. C. through the teachings of Lord Buddha. The sights of disease, old age and death impressed him with the idea that the world was full of sufferings and he renounced the household life. He spent many years in study and meditation to discover the origin of human sufferings and the means to overcome them. At last he attained enlightenment. The 'Four Noble truths' (Catvāri-ārya-satyāni) preached by Him are : (i) there is misery, (ii) there is a cause of misery, (iii) there is cessation of misery, and (iv) there is path leading to the cessation of misery. Buddha did not like to discuss the problems of God or soul as He thought that discussions on those problems meant a mere wastage of time. But in spite of his unwillingness he would not avoid such discussions altogether. Thus we find from the early literature the following theories among his teachings : (a) All things are conditional, there is nothing that exists by itself ; (b) all things are therefore subject to change, nothing is permanent ; (c) there is, therefore, neither any soul nor God nor any other permanent substance ; (d) there is, however, continuity of the present life which generates another life, by the law of Karma, just as a tree generates another tree through its seed, and the second continues while the first withers away.

After the sacred demise of Lord Buddha, His followers in India and outside, developed the germs of philosophical theories contained in Buddha's teachings and many Schools thus came into existence. Of these, the four schools, namely, the Mādhyamika or Śūnyavāda School, the Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda School, the Sautrāntika School and the Vaibhāṣika School, became ultimately well-known in Indian Philosophy.

(i) The Mādhyamika School—According to this School, the world is unreal (Śūnya) ; mental and non-mental phenomena are all illusory. This view is known as nihilism (Śūnyavāda).

(ii) The Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda School—According to the

Yogācarin School external objects are unreal. What appears as external is really an idea of the mind. But mind must be admitted to be real. This view is called subjective idealism (Vijñānavāda).

(iii) The Sautrāntika School—This School holds that both the mental and the non-mental are real. If everything is unreal then our perception of an object will not depend on anything outside the mind but absolutely on the mind. But we find that the mind cannot perceive any object like a tiger, at any place, which it likes. This proves that the idea of the tiger, when we perceive it, depends on a non-mental reality, the tiger. From the perceptual idea or representation of a tiger in the mind we can infer the existence of its cause, the tiger, outside the mind. This view is called representationism, or theory of the inferability of external objects.

(iv) The Vaibhāṣika School—This school agrees with the third one on the point that both internal and external objects are real. But it differs from it regarding the way through which external objects are known. External objects, according to Vaibhāṣikas, are directly perceived and not inferred from their ideas or representations in the mind. This view is called direct realism.

But at the beginning Buddhism has been divided into two well-known broad Schools, viz., Theravāda and Mahāyāna. The first two of the four philosophical Schools mentioned above came under the Theravāda or Hīnayāna. The most important religious question on which these two broad Schools differ is : What is the object of Nirvāṇa ? The Theravādin hopes to obtain liberation in this or any other future life by following the Buddha's noble way. His goal is Nibbāna, which extinguishes all miseries. We may call Theravāda a religion of self-help.

As the fold of Buddhism widened in course of time, it included not only the few select persons fit to follow this difficult idea, but also multitudes of half-convinced nominal converts who neither understood the path nor had the necessary moral strength to follow it.

With the support of royal patrons like Aśoka, Buddhism gained in number, but lost its original quality. The bulk of people who accepted Buddhism on grounds other than moral, brought it down to their own level. They came with their own habits, beliefs, customs and traditions which soon became a part of the new faith which they accepted. The teacher had to choose between upholding the ideal at the cost of number and upholding the number at the cost of the ideal. The few sturdy ones preferred the first. But the majority could not resist the temptation of the second.

Mahāyānaism emphasizes the founder's life and teachings and points out that the long life of Buddha, after enlightenment, dedicated to the services of the suffering beings, sets an example of an ideal, namely, that enlightenment should be sought not for one's own salvation, but for all beings able to minister the moral needs of others. The ideal of the salvation of all sentient beings thus came upon to be regarded as the higher aspect of Lord Buddha's teaching. The greatness of their faith, the Mahāyānists contend, consists in this ideal and the inferiority of the Theravādins in the lack of it.

As for the final goal the Mahāyānists believe that everyman, and even every being of the world is a potential Buddha. He has within him all the possibilities of becoming a 'Samyak-Sambuddha', i. e., the perfectly enlightened one. The Bodhisattva according to Mahāyāna Buddhism never accepts 'Nirvāṇa' though by meritorious righteous deeds he becomes entitled to it. He deliberately postpones his own salvation until the whole world of suffering beings is saved. One who was believed this ideal of enlightenment and works for the salvation of other beings is also called Bodhisattva. Love and wisdom (Karuṇā and Prajñā) constitute the essence of his existence. By an exchange (Parivarta) of the fruits of action, a Bodhisattva relieves the miseries due to others with his own good deeds and suffers himself the consequences of their actions. The feature of universal compassion was one of the most important factors that popularised Buddhism very much in the lands far and wide and gave the religion a deep humanitarian character. It is by this emphasis on compassion and also on devotion that Mahāyāna Buddhism could very easily attract the sympathy and attention of millions of people and could also harmonise itself with the current religious trend of India.

On the basis of the Mahāyāna principles the Buddhist Tantras dictate practical methods for the realisation of the Supreme God. These Tantras are, primarily concerned with the 'Sādhana' or the religious endeavour, but not with any system of abstract philosophy. The main object of the Tantra literature is to indicate and explain the practical method for realising the truth, and so, the abstract metaphysical speculations could never find any prominence in it.

Tantric Buddhism is not the result of the evolution of Buddhism but in the later period Mahāyāna Buddhism has adopted different practices of Tantras which were a growth of the soil as such a common tradition both of the Hindus and the Buddhists. It will be just to say that Tantric Theological forms and practices that are found

in the Buddhist Tantras represent the gradual transformation of Mahāyānic ideas.

Tantra generally emphasizes on the esoteric methods for realising that reality. In short, the Tantras deal with esoteric yoga hymns, rites, rituals, doctrines and even law, medicine, magic and so forth which are connected with the folk life and literature of traditional India.

For our convenience at the very outset we must define the term 'Bengal'. In the present discussion we have used it to mean West Bengal, one of the Eastern states of India and the whole of Bangladesh where Bengali is the *lingua franca*.

If we want to explore the religious history of Bengal we shall find that early Bengali literature and language start with the religious doctrines and practices of the Sahajiyā-cult of Buddhism which is a particular development of a phase of later Buddhism widely known as Tantric Buddhism. Investigation reveals that during the reign of the Pāla-dynasty Buddhism in various Tantric forms gained popularity in Bengal and many Tantric texts and commentaries were written in different Buddhist monasteries that were established in Bengal. The authors of Sahajiyā Buddhistic songs were mostly the inhabitants of Bengal and its adjoining areas. The Buddhist Sahajiyā cult notwithstanding the Buddhistic tone and colour which it assume is essentially an esoteric yogic cult. In every religion of India a higher philosophical theology and an esoteric yogic practices (Yogasādhana) go on side by side. These esoteric practices when associated with the theological practices of Śaivas and Śāktas have given rise to the Śaiva and Śākta Tantricism when associated with the Buddhistic speculations have given rise to the Buddhist Tantricism and when associated with Vaisnavism it has given rise to the Vaisnava Sahajiyā movement.

Incidentally we may remark that religion is the guiding force not only in the spiritual attainment of an individual but also in the social institutions. This is all the more true in the field of folk religion which reflect the expression of local behaviour of the village people, their rites, rituals, ceremonies, festivities, customs, manners, beliefs and faiths and on the other hand their way of life and culture. In the primitive age tribe is the rudimentary form of social union. The group thinks and acts as one body. At that time primitive men attribute a kind of soul to the phenomena of nature, e. g. trees, brooks, mountains, stones, stars etc. This theory is known as Animism.

stic Theory propounded by E. B. Tylor in his monumental publication entitled *Primitive Culture* (first edition 1871) The basic elements of primitive religion are not only the worship of natural phenomena but also the worship of spirits of dead ancestors. Totemism is also the basic factor of primitive religion. According to Hoebel, totem is an object, often an animal or plant is held with special regard by the members of a social group who feel that there is a peculiar bond of emotional identity between themselves and the totem. From those above elements primitive religion makes for social solidarity and a sense of common obligations. When a number of tribes gather together and become a group of villagers with the agricultural affinity and stability a newly religious life is formed and we may call this stage of religious life the 'Folk Religion'.

The population of Bengal consists of different ethenic groups with their different behavioral pattern, socio-religious rites and religious customs. In Bengal religious ideas are not only formed through any philosophical experience, but also these are established on the beliefs and superstitions of the traditional 'Group Mind'. In course of time these beliefs and superstitions, rites and rituals and customs have been institutionalised in connection with a folk deity and thus emerged into a folk cult. In Bengal as elsewhere we find that the religious attitudes, outlook, mode and values of the folk community are guided by the religious faith based on either mystic realisation of the self or of the magico-religious tendency.

II

It is said that Bengalee people celebrate thirteen festivals in twelve months. Such a saying throws much light on the outlook of Bengalee people towards traditional festivals and rituals. But the number of festivals as referred to in the tradition is not, of course, the actual number as there are a few more which, though minor in character, deserve special mention in connection with the religious life of the Bengalee Folk. The Bengalee village people, as will be seen, worship various minor deities or Godlings, most of which according to many scholars are of folk or primitive origin. The popular tradition, therefore, only refers to the superfluity of the Bengali festivals which are generally held centering round worships of either major or minor Gods and Goddesses. With the exception of major Brahmanical Hindu deities such as Śiva, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Lakṣmī, Kālī and the like the

Bengalee worship a series of peculiar minor deities in their own way with their own priests. In the report of the *Census of Bengal*, E. A. Gait has made the following important remark on the religious life of the Bengalee Folk. "They are quite content to live their neophytes in the undisturbed possession of their own pantheon and there is nothing to prevent them from worshipping in their own way, with their own priests, their own peculiar Gods and devils in addition to the Hindu Gods at whose worship none but the Brahmans can officiate. It thus happens that all the lower and many even of the more respectable castes reverence numerous minor deities who have appropriately been dubbed who are quite unknown to Vedic Hinduism" (E. A. Gait, Report of the Census of Bengal, 1901, p. 186).

From the ancient time Bengal has inherited a pre-Aryan culture whose influence is still noticeable in its various folk cults and religions. It is a historical fact that Bengal had been influenced by the Aryan culture & civilisation only before 600 B. C. The culture that existed before the Aryanisation of Bengal was most probably of pre-Aryan origin. In the field of religion Vedic Hinduism and newly formed Buddhism came side by side and influenced the Bengalee Folk in life and culture. But before that the people of Bengal used to worship their own Gods and Goddesses with their local customs and rituals which we may call folk religion and the deities they worship are known as folk Gods and Goddesses. Then there were no written system of worship, specialized form of rites, definite pattern of ceremonies and precise hymns. They had built some oral traditions by which they have traditionally transmitted their ideas through the centuries. But when Aryan culture, Vedic religion and Buddhism entered in the religious and cultural life of Bengal, obviously, connected with the elements of original culture and religion, has led to the evolution of such a strange and complex system of faith and worship of its religion which consists of different sects and beliefs co-existing throughout the Bengal's traditional life.

The background of the religious life of Bengal is thus a complex one. Along with the worship of a large number of Brāhmanical Hindu deities, the Bengalee folk still worship both anthropomorphically and emblematically various non-Aryan deities or Godlings such as Caṇḍī, Dharma, Manasā, Śitalā, Śaṣṭhī and so on. This paper is mainly confined with the discussion on the impact of Buddhism on the folk religious life of Bengal. Buddhism is still surviving in Bengal as a living religion in small community at present, but it has great impact on the Hindu religion in which Lord Buddha has been considered as a

member of the Brahmanical Pantheon. The most interesting feature of the folk religion of Bengal is that Lord Buddha is not a deity of their religion and even his name has not been mentioned in any folk religious practices, but the rites and rituals, customs and beliefs, religious practices of different folk communities have been influenced by the different faiths and practices of Buddhism, although mainly Tantric Buddhism and Buddhist Sahajiyā cult have influenced the different folk cults of Bengal in their religious manners and practices, such as Bāul Cult, Nāth Cult, Nirānjan Cult, Dharma Cult and the like.

Baul Cult

The Bāuls are somewhat strange people, peculiar in their habits and customs, manners and practices. They refuse to be guided by any particular convention, social or religious doctrines. They proceed in a direction opposite to that followed by the general run of people. They do not like useless paraphernalia of ritualism and ceremony as well as pedantry and hypocrisy. It is for this reason Bāuls would call their path 'Ultā path' i.e. the reverse way. It may be observed in this connection that this 'Ultā path' with all its theological and Yogic implication was the path spoken of and adopted by all the medieval saints of India. There we find the influence of Sahajiyā Buddhism on the theory and practices of Bāul cult. There are however some instances of striking similarities between the creeds of the earlier Sahajiyas and the Bāuls which definitely points a genealogical connection between them. The songs and the Dohās of the earlier Sahajiyas are characterised by spirit of heterodoxy and criticism which is likewise a feature of the songs of the Bāuls. The main characteristics of the philosophical attitude of caryapada represents unsystematised notions of Mahāyāna philosophy including the negativistic tendency of the Madhyamikas and the positivistic tendency of Asva Ghosa. Death is exactly the same as birth – there is no distinction between being and dying. Let them, who are here afraid of birth and death, care for (practice and ceremonies of) Rasa and Rasāyana, Those who generally roam about (in the temples of) Gods and Goddesses become neither free from decrepitude, nor do they become immortal (Song No. 42). This tone of heterodoxy is also found in Bāul cult. It is expressed in a Bāul song.

Tomār path dhaikyache māndire masjide
Tomār dāk sune Sāin Calte nā pai
Ruikhya damday gurute mursedc.

'O' my lord, I hear Thy call, but I can't go. Because the way

to Thee is blocked by the temples and mosques. The worshippers of temples and mosques stand in the way to Thee.¹

In a song of Lalan we find "How Vedas would be able to explain him. He dwells in the world of the body. Vedas are the interpretations of knowledge. The scholars interpret it. But the truth 'the man of the heart' is not available in the Vedas".

Secondly, the earlier Buddhist Sahajiyas lay strong emphasis on Guru-Vāda, and we also find the same philosophy in the Bāul cult. In the Charyapada we find Guruvada in every poem. Poets are always seeking instructions from their wise preceptors. They also want to know the inner meaning of their philosophy with the help of their Gurus. In every Charyapada there is a line where the author is mentioning his name in the concluding line of his poem such as 'Lui Vanai Guru Puchhia Yana' or 'Bāhatu Kāmali Sadguru Pucchi'. In the Bāul cult the Guru or the true preceptor is held in the highest position. The intricate process of Sādhana cannot be performed without the instructions of the Guru. In a Lalan Bāul's song it has been said :

He has no need for devotion in whose heart
The beauty of the Guru illuminates
There is no parallel to the love of the
Guru—the love

which satisfies him
Poor Lalan says the formless Man
moves about as the Guru
While living, I have not found God, is it believable
That I shall meet Him after death ?²

The guidance of the preceptor is the most essential factor in Bāul sādhanā like Sahajiya Buddhism for two reasons : Firstly, the method of Sādhana is a process of sexo-yogic practices which cannot be successfully observed without the mercy of the preceptor, because there is always a possibility to be unsuccessful and misguided. Secondly, the realisation of the Absolute Reality in the Bāul Sādhana is a mystic realisation which can never be attained through intellectual persuasion, and the preceptor only is able to make the disciple realise the Absolute Reality which is already realised by the preceptor himself. Same thing we find in the Sahajiya Buddhism. In Buddhist Sahajiyavad the people believe that the truth is transmitted from the preceptor to the disciple just as one can lighten the lamp from the other. They believe that the true preceptor in his non-dual state identifies himself with the disciple and performs from within the

disciple all that is necessary for the latter's spiritual uplift. Sometimes the Guru is a substitute even for God or at least God is to be realised through the medium of the personal touch of Guru who stands as the living proof of the existence of God. Moreover, many of the Tantric practices are secret practices involving complex process of esoteric yoga. Without the help of Guru none can enter in the orbit of intricate esoteric practices without the physical, mental and philosophical guidance of Guru. Almost all the Charyā songs speak highly of the Guru, who is the only help in the path of Sādhana. Same idea we also find in Bāul Cult where the importance of the Guru is described. It is stated like caryapada that worldly wealth and beloved relatives are all left behind at the end of misguided life, but the preceptor only guides the life towards the attainment. In a Bāul song it is stated: O Guru, give me the good attributes, so that I may not forget you. O Guru, be, to whom you are not affectionate, never finds the right path. ' You are the pilot of my mind. I shall go there where you will guide me. O Guru, you are the musician of the harp. O Guru you are master of incantations. O Guru, you are the instructor of the instruments. If you do not make me sing, how shall I sing? The eyes of my mind are blind since the birth. O Guru, give me sight with the tool of knowledge. I am waiting in that expectation. O Guru, show me the right path. How shall be your devotee without your kindness.⁴

This idea of 'Guruvāda' comes from in Buddhist Sahajiyā cult and influences the Bāul cult very much. Because Tantric Buddhism lays emphasis on the practical aspect of religion, naturally, lays equal stress on the function of the Guru. It is said that the Tantras are the secret of all secrets (Guhyad Guhyam) and therefore there is no other way of being initiated into this method of yoga without the practical help of the Guru. We shall find how the theory of Guruvada also influences the many folk cults of Bengal such as Nath cult, Niranjan cult and Dharama cult. Thirdly we have observed that according to the earlier Sahajiyas the human body is the microcosm, or rather the epitome of the universe and that truth resides within and this to be realised within,—this is exactly the belief shared by the Bāuls⁵ In connection with the practical aspect of the Buddhist Sahajiya cult we should also notice that along with the uncompromising attitude of revolt against all formalities, and customs and orthodoxy in religion great emphasis is laid on human body in the Sahajiya Buddhism. In the Hevajra-Tantra we find that the Lord (Bhagavan) as was asked by Bodhisattva were there was any necessity at all of this physical world and the physical body, everything being in reality

nothing but pure void. To this the reply of the Lord was that without the body there was no possibility of the realisation of the great bliss and here lies the importance of the body. In a Charya song we find that the poet Saraha discourages the pilgrimage and bathing in the sacred rivers and says, Here (within this body)⁶ is the Ganges and the Jamua, here is The Gangasagar, here are Prayaga and Banaras, here are the sun and the moon. Here are the sacred places, here are the pithas and the upapithas—I have not seen a place of pilgrimage and an abode of bliss like my body.⁷

In Śrī-Kāla-cakra of Buddhist Sahajiyā cult we find that without the body there cannot be any perfection, neither can the Supreme bliss be realised in this life without the body,—it is for this reason that the body with the nervous system is so important for Yoga, if perfection (Sidhis) of the body be attained all kinds of perfection in the three worlds are very easily obtained. In a Caryapada it is nicely said by Saraha —“He is within the house,—but you are enquiring about him outside. You are seeing your husband within, yet are asking the neighbours as to his whereabouts—some one bodiless is hiding himself in the body—he who knows him there (in the body)⁸ is liberated.

Same idea of Deha-Vad comes from Buddhist Sahajiya cult and influences Baul Cult in various ways. Like Buddhist Sahajiya schools and Tantric Schools Bāul cult also has given emphasis on the body. There are several reasons that is why Baul Sadhana considers the human body in high esteem. Firstly they believe that the human body is the little world, that is why they ignore the natural world and more importance is given on human body. Secondly, to their belief human body is conceived to be the rupa—the material form of lower existence. The inanimate world is not given much importance. Thirdly, from the consciousness of human body when it will be purified and perfect, realisation of self is established. Fourthly, without the ‘Suddha’ human body Yogic practices are not possible. Finally, the Absolute Being resides in the body. The Absolute Being is conceived to be the Swarupa or the true self. The Ultimate Reality which resides in the body in the form of human being is called as ‘Manus’ in the Baul Sadhana. This theory is expressed in many songs of Bāuls. In a song Lalan says, “such a human life shall I beg any more, O my mind, do what you ought to do in the world quickly. The Absolute Reality created the limitless phenomena. It is heard, there is nothing above the human being. The Gods even yearn for being born as human beings. I am so fortunate, O my mind, that I got the boat

of human body sail the boat to the right destination and keep watch so that it would not sink. The Ultimate Reality created the human being because the Sadhana of love will be observed in the human body. If the boat sinks, Lalan thinks, destination will be lost for ever. 'Metaphor of different objects have been used in the Bāul song to describe the human body. In some songs body has been described as a cage, Sometimes as a room or as a mirror city or as a boat. In a famous song of Lalan the body has been described as a cage.

“How does the strange bird
flit in and out of the cage ?
If I could catch the bird
I would put it under the fetters
of my heart.

The cage has eight cells and nine doors
Which latticed openings here and there.
Above it is the main hall
with a mirror chamber.

O-my Mind, you are enamoured of the cage,
little knowing that the cage is
made of raw bamboo
and may any day fall apart
Says Lalan, forcing the cage open,
the bird flitted away to no one
Knows where.”

In the body there are eight cells and nine doors. Eight cells are the eight stages in the process of Baul-Sadhana and nine doors are 'navadvāra' or nine outlets as also conceived in the Tantric way of Sadhana. Above eight chambers there is the main, room where the Ultimate Reality dwells in. It is a pity that man does not care because of ignorance that the cage is made of raw bamboo and human life is mortal and may be destroyed at any time. The bird or the Ultimate Reality will not dwell for ever. He will flee away somewhere nobody knows. So the Ultimate Reality must be realised as soon as possible without wasting time, being allured by the cheap worldly attraction. This description and utility of body are described in the above Baul song where we can find the influences of Dehabād' of Sahajiyā and Tantric Buddhism.

Fourthly, like Sahajiyā Buddhists, Bauls do not advocate any

caste system. They believe that there is only one caste in the world which is called 'Mānuṣ Jāti' or mankind.

Finally, the earlier Sahajiyās conceived of the ultimate reality as the Sahaja and this conception of the Sahaja or ultimate reality is also found in the song of Bauls. In a Baul song this idea has been expressed :

Oh mind listen to the instructions of the Guru.

And you will know the Sahaj.

The dark form has been formed with five elements.

The spine and the skull are all of joint and are thatched by

The skin, like paper.

You will know it easily

The moon, the Sun and the star are there
and he sits in an Ocean upon a lotus leaf.

Poor Sreenath says "I have forgotten
everything in the bond of Maya.

This bond will be broken if I am
favoured by the Guru

And you will know the truth, easily."

Sahaja as a being who became gradually transformed into a personal God with whom it may be possible to have personal relations. This tendency of the earlier Sahajiyas made the way possible for the evolution of the conception of the 'man of heart' *maner mānuṣ* under the Sadhana of the Baul Cult.

Natha Cult

Buddhism has influenced another important religious folk cult of Bengal, i. e. the Nātha Cult. The Nātha Cult is essentially a Yogic cult. Some take it to be essentially a crypto-Buddhist or an esoteric Buddhist cult which later seceded from the Buddhist fold and transformed itself into a Śaivite cult. Others, on the other hand, are of opinion that the Natha cult is essentially a Śaivite cult, which, in course of its evolution was assimilated within esoteric Buddhism and it is for this reason we find direct influence of Tantric Buddhism and Yogic Śaivism. The Nātha cult seems to represent a particular phase of Siddha cult of India. The Siddha cult is a very old religious cult with its main emphasis on a psychochemical process of Yoga, known as the 'Kāyā—Sādhana' or the culture of body with a view to making it perfect-attaining an immortal spiritual life. This idea, we find,

edesiyahādi nāy vaṅga-deśe ghar

cāndrāsuruṅ rākhecha dui kāner kundal 9

Yam rājā hay yār nijer cākār,
Candra Sūrya dui jan kundal kāner”¹⁰

In Kāyā—Sādhana the Sun and the Moon refer generally to the two important nerves in the right and the left side of the body and their union generally refers to the union of the two currents of the vital mind Prāṇ and ‘Apāna’ or inhalation and exhalation. The word Haṭha-Yoga really signifies the union of the Ha, i.e., the Sun and ‘Tha’ i.e. the Moon. But the sun and the moon have got a deeper meaning still. In the *Siddhasiddhanta-Paddhati* (ascribed to Gorakh) we find that the Physical body emerges from the collection of five factors, viz. Karma (activity), Kāma (desire), Candra (the moon), Sūrya (the Sun) and Agni (fire). Of these, the first two are rather the conditions of the visible body (pinda) while other three are the primary elements of which the body is made. Then the primary elements out of which the visible body is made are reduced to two, viz., the Sun and the Moon. The Moon represents the elements of ‘Rasa’ or ‘Soma’ (i.e. the quintessence in the form of the Juice) and the Sun is the element of fire, and therefore the body is called the product of Agni and Soma. ‘Rasa’ as ‘Soma’ is the food (Upabhogya) while fire as the consumer (bhokta) and through the well proportion combination of the consumer and the consumed the whole creation is sustained. In the Yogic text in general the Moon and the Sun represent the two elements underlying physical existence—viz., the element of creation and preservation and the element of change and destruction. The Moon and the Sun are similar as ‘Śiva’ and ‘Śakti’. The Moon is situated just below the “Sahasrāra” or the lotus of thousand petals in the cerebrum region,—it is facing downwards; and the Sun is situated in the region of the navel or in the lowest plexus (Mūlāchāra) facing upwards. It is said that there are seven regions called Pātāla and seven upper region called heaven. Creation lasts as long as the ‘Kalagni’ remains in the lower region, but when it burns upward, dissolution starts. In the Buddhist Tantra and Buddhist Sahajiyā songs this principles of the Sun and the Moon have been conceived as the fire force in the ‘Nirmana-Kanya’ (i.e. plexus of the body of transformation) and as the Bodhicitta in the Uśnisa-Kamala respectively. The fire-force in the ‘Nirmāṇa-Kanyā’ (situated according to the Buddhist, in navel region) is described as the goddess Caṇḍālī. The sadhana of the Hatha-Yogins consist, on the whole, in the act of combining the Sun with the Moon after getting complete mastery over them. In describing the Yogic power of Hāḍisiddhā Mayaṇamati frequently refers to the fact that Hāḍi-siddhā has made the Sun and

the Moon his ear-rings. Though the statement is found in our literature only to describe the mythical power of Hāḍi-siddhā with whom every thing impossible became possible, there is a deeper Yogic significance behind. This principle of the Sun and the Moon has been referred to the 'Goraksa-Vijaya', under various imageries such as :

Sānivāra bahe bāyes Sunye mahatithi
 purvve ule bhāskar pascime jvale bāti
 nivite nā dīo bāti jvāla ghana ghana
 ājukā chāpai rākha amūlya ratan
 ruvivār bahe bāu laiya ādya mūl
 āgun pāniye gura ek samatul
 āgun pāniye jadi hae mitāmili
 nivi jāiva āguin raiyā jāiva chālī ¹ :

The Nātha Cult is very popular in Bengal. It is established as a religious sect and the people belonging to the sect constitute a considerable population of Bengal. The Nātha Cult, as such, in Bengal as well as in India having almost in same doctrinal principle and religious structure can not be strictly considered a folk cult. But the religious practices, process leading to ultimate realisation, theology, cosmogony and cosmology of the Nātha Cult influenced the folk life of Bengal and religious impact gave rise to folk literature and religious faith among the people. Two basic elements of the Nātha Cult, 'Guruvada' or the theory of dependence on the preceptor and Yogic practices got their places in the religious faith of the folk people of Bengal because these are the basic elements also in certain folk religions of Bengal.

The Nātha literature of Bengal is an exposition of theology, religious practices and Yogic systems of the cult described in narrative folk Ballads. The themes of the Ballads are based on the story of the pseudo historical or legendary figure of a prince and the story of Gorakshnath, the greatest Siddhāi of the cult. There are also many songs associated with the cult. In this literature the power of Yoga and nature of the ultimate realisation have been described. In the story of Gopichandra (popularly known as Gopicānd) it is stated that how the young prince who was destined to live only eighteen years in this world became immortal through the austere Yogic practices, which is the ultimate realisation in the Nātha Cult, leaving behind all kinds of wordly pleasures and happiness at the instance of his mother. In this story of Gopichandra we find many religious practices and ways of Sāadhanā which have come through Tāntric

Buddhism and Buddhist Sahajiyā cult. In the story when Gopicandra was asked by his mother Mayanāmati to be the disciple of Hāḍisiddha to learn and perform the secret Yogic rites so that he might be able to defy death and be immortal. But defying his mother firmly Gopicandra put many questions to Hāḍi-Siddhā to examine his Knowledge of mystic Yogic practices. Gopicandra became convinced to some extent but he was very reluctant to leave his wives and enjoyment. When he met his wives at this stage they instigated him, against his mother. Being tutored by his queens the young king asked his mother to demonstrate her mystic power and attainment of Yogic realisation. She could endure all kinds of tests. She was thrown into fire, but fire could not burn her. She was drowned into water enclosed within a bag but mother Ganges came forward to rescue her. She crossed a bridge made of hair. She walked on the edge of a razor. She lived inside a pot of boiling oil which was constantly boiling for seven days. She could stand all kinds of such rigorous, pain-staking and fatal tests, at the mercy of her preceptor, Gorakshanath who initiated her in the mystic cult and declared that Maynāmati would be able to stand all these tests and would never die.

The final aim of the Nāth Siddhas is Jivan-Mukti or liberation while living, and this state of liberation is what is meant by immortality. The Siddhas seek liberation in a transformed or transmateralised body, which is the perfect body. The Yogins in their perfect body are prompted by the principles of 'Visuddhamaya' to benevolent activities rendering spiritual guidance to innumerable religious aspirant and this state is the fittest state for becoming a Guru or spiritual preceptor. It is for this reason that the Siddhas are the true preceptors in the world. From the above story of Gopicandra, it would be revealed that quest for immortality is the ultimate aim of the Nāth Siddhas, one should leave behind all the worldly attraction and enjoyments of mortal life to realise the ultimate mystic knowledge to conquer time and space, to defy death and to become immortal. Due to absolute dissociation of the 'asuddhamaya' these benevolent activities of the Siddhas can not any more bind them down to the world suffering. This active state of Siddhā, which helps the religious aspirants on the one hand and evolves its final state of 'Parāmukti' on the other, may very well be compared to the Bodhisattvahood of Mahāyāna Buddhism, where there is the principle of activity in the form of universal compassion, which uplifts the suffering beings on the one hand, and, on the other, makes the Bodhisattva march forward

through the ten stages of 'Bodhisattvabhūmi' towards the final goal of Buddhahood.

The Sādhana of the Nāthas is a process of the reverse order. The Nathas, in their Sādhana, attempt to change the natural course of things and pull it back towards the reverse order, which is the key to the method. In the process of the Sādhana 'Mahārāsa' or quintessence of the body having a tremendous downward tendency is arrested and pulled back in the reverse order and made it move to the upward direction. The ultimate attainment in the Nath Cult is to realise Mahājñāna, the great ultimate mystic wisdom. It will be found in the story of Gopīcandra that Mayanāmātī attained the 'Mahājñāna' by which she wanted to make her husband immortal. Mayanāmātī told her son Gopīcandra that his body would be immortal if he would be the disciple of Hāḍī-Siddhā. In the process of sādhanā the body is primarily culminated when it will be siddha or purified and perfect. The Yogi will assimilate the two courses of vital wind through the middle 'susumnā'. This is the state of concentration in tranquility when the Yogi will awaken the 'Kundalinī' or Śakti at the plexus of Muḷādhāra. The Śakti or the Sun which is awakened in Muḷādhāra will be directed upwards to Maṇipurācakra, from Maṇipurācakra to Anāhatacakra, from Anāhatacakra to Viśuddhācakra and from Viśuddhācakra to Ājñācakra. When Śakti is united with Śiva, it loses all the potential creative phenomena and rests in eternal tranquility. The Yogi then realises the great mystic wisdom.

Gorakṣanātha urged Mīnanātha in the land of Kadali to perform the Sādhana and when Mīnanātha held back in decision he told his preceptor the process of Sādhana.

Satcakra bheda guru khelauk ujan |
 Merumule rahibe candra na tutive Kala ||
 Benkanale Sadha guru na Kariya hela ||
 Ingila Pingila bujhiba ban sandhi |
 Rabi Sasi caliache tare kara bandi ||
 * * * * *
 Ulatya hauka puspa puni kara dhyan |
 Bujha bijha guru tattava Brachmajnah ||
 Capa tin tihadi udia jauk dhuya |
 And Jvalaha guru sthir kara Kaya ||

"Oh my preceptor, cross the six plexuses and pull the current back in the reverse process. The Moon will be fixed on the Zeinth of the spinal column, but do not let the kala or nectar (the digit or tribute the Moon) set apart from the Moon. Do not disregard the process, perform the Sadhana through Benkanal, the curved duct. The Sun

and the Moon pass through Ida and Pingala. Keep firm command over the two courses of the vital wind through these two vital nerves and flow them through susumnā by assimilating them. In your Yogic meditation let the lotus be placed with its petals downwards. Let the body be steady and attain the stake of equilibrium. Awaken the Sun in your body and through the Yogic rites realise the ultimate mystic wisdom”.

From the above account and from the legendary accounts given in the Nātha literature on the life and activities of Nātha Siddhas, including King Gopicanḍa's mother Mayanamati and King Gopicanḍa himself will corroborate our statement on the final aim of the Nātha Yogins, their general religious attitude and influences of Buddhism. The myths, legends, traditions and stories have all behind them the quest of immortality,—and escape from the clutching jaws of decay and the cruel snatch of death.

Niranjana Cult

The Niranjan cult is a sister cult of Nātha Cult which is present covers Orissa, Bengal, Assam and Nepal. In Orissa and Assam it is known as 'Alakh Panth'. In Nepal the followers of this called 'Niranjaniya'. In Bengal it was popular as a folk cult like Aul, Baul, Sain and Kartabhaja. But in Bengal, now a days it has lost its identity mark. The trinity held by Niranjanists is the same as that of Nathists. They are very much influenced by the Buddhist Sahajiyā cult like Nātha cult of Bengal. The Niranjanists resort to Kāya Sādhana just like the Naths and the Buddhist Sahajiyā cult. The idea of 'Pinda' and 'Brahmāṇḍa' is also identical with Sunyabhabana which occupies a great place in their creed like sunyabadi (Madhyamika) school of Buddhism. They call their own method 'Trikuṭi Sadhan', or 'Uṭta Marga Bhraman'. They send their soul upward through the passage of 'Suṣummā' from Muḷādhār to 'Sahasrāra' where it experiences 'Anahata Nada' and realises Niranjana, the supreme God head. 'Vankanali' is the exact term of 'Sushumna' and 'Sunya' (or vacuity) is another name of Niranjana. So long as the soul rests in 'Sahasrār Padma' it sips the nectar out of the lotus. In such state lies their ideal perfection after attaining to which only 'Ajapājap' remains as the lasting issue. They believe that Niranjana is the husband like lover while the individual soul is his beloved spouse. Niranjan created this beautiful world out of this sheer love. He created all the living creatures out of his selfless love and maintains everything by love. The Niranjanists also perform like Buddhist Sahajiyā 'Hatayags' which is a necessary

method for understanding the mechanism of 'Pinda' as mere miniature of 'Brahmānda'. 'Satchakrabheda' which they called 'Trikuti Sadhan' or 'Ūlta Marga Bhraman' is an involved task for one who tries to attain to enlightenment. But one who can achieve this may well understand the kinship between Macrocosm and microcosm, as much as the relation between individual soul and cosmic soul. Again, they call the inwardness of the functions of the organs (Indriyas) including the mind and breath *surati*, which begins at the primary stage of 'Sāadhanā'.

Niranjana Cult is to some extent similar to Aupanishadic Dharma. The tradition recorded in the treatises of the Niranjanis that one Brahṁā introduced this creed as 'Brāhmana Mata'. But Brahmans later began to misinterpret the original tenets and thus produced transformation in the course of the development of religion. According to them the Supreme Godhead of the Niranjanists is, 'Nirakāra Nirvikāra, Nirvikalpa Niranjana'—which is as good as the definition of Brahman given in the Vedānta Philosophy. But according to few other authorities the Niranjan is 'Śūnya' and 'Śūdyā' is in Tathatā (=the samenees) or Dharmakaya of Lord Buddha. Again they identify Lord Buddha with Jagannath of Orissa and consequently account Jagannath for Niranjana. The word 'Niranjana' is not however very uncommon in Hindu philosophical and theological texts, but its use seems to be none common in the Buddhist than in the Hindu fold, and it is very frequently and aptly used as an epithet of reality, which in its ultimate void-nature is stainless like sky above. In fact, it has been widely used by the Dharmites, the Nāthists, the Bāuls, the Sufi poets and also by Nirguni poets of Hindi literature.

If we proceed with the task of analysing and examining the accounts found in Niranjana cult we shall mark the influence of various Buddhist Tantras. In the old and medieval vernaculars of Bengal we find various theories about cosmogony and cosmology. In the 'Śūnya-Purāṇa' we find that in the beginning there was nothing, neither any linear mark, nor any form, nor any colour, nor any trace of anything, there was neither the Sun nor the Moon, nor the day nor the night. There was neither water nor earth, nor the sky, nor the mountains. The universe was not,—neither was anything mobile or immobile, nor were the temples, nor the Gods in them,—there were only all pervading darkness and haze—and in the infinite vacuum the Lord alone was moving in the great void having nothing but void as His support. And in His absolute loneliness the Lord was thinking of creating something and out of the great vacuum there came out the

vital air of the Lord, from which came inhalation and exhalation. From these again proceeded great compassion and from that all the principles of illusion. Then there came out a bubble of water on which the Lord made his seat, but the bubble could not withstand the pressure of the Lord and burst into pieces leaving the Lord once more in the vacuum. Then the Lord sat fixed in the vacuum and in and through his compassion another personality of the name of Niranjana came out of him.

We have seen that in the Vijnāna-vāda Buddhism Śūnyatā was conceived as something like the Ultimate Substance or the Primordial Element from which evolves the visible world. The Primordial Divinity, who is responsible for the creation of the universe was Himself void by nature. He was moving in the void and the Lord of the void created the universe out of the great void.

Dharma Cult

We have seen that the conception of Dharma as described in the Bengali vernacular reminds one at some places of the Mahayanic conception of the 'Dharma-Kāya' of Lord Buddha which is 'thatness' underlying all phenomena. 'Dharma-Kāya' is the cosmic oneness from which proceeds the diversity of the cosmic process. In the description of the vernaculars we find that the cosmic process emanates from 'Dharma'. Dharma Thākura is conceived to be the primordial Lord in Dharma Cult. Before the creation while there was no manifestation, there was only a cosmic primordial darkness in the primordial nihil, there was the primordial Lord. He wished to be manifested and took the form of void. He created Ādya, the primordial goddess, who gave birth to three sons, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. In the Dharma-Pujā Vidhāna the description of Dharma is stated in the following way—'Let that Lord of the form of vacuity, who has neither end, nor middle, nor beginning, neither hands and legs, nor body and voice, neither form, nor any primordial shape, nor fear nor death nor even birth, who is accessible only to the greatest of the yogins in deep meditation, who belongs to all the sects, who is bereft of all mental construction, who is one, stainless, and given of the boon of immortality, protect me. "In this idea there is some influence of Mahayānic conception of 'Dharma-Kāya'. The word Dharma-Kāya is often explained as the body of law. But the word Dharma is generally used in the Mahāyāna texts in the sense of 'entity'; and the Dharma-Kāya means the 'thatness' (tathatārūpā) of all the entities. The nature of Dharma-Kāya is described in the Avatamsaka-Sūtra in

the following manner—'The Dharma Kāya through manifesting itself in the triple world, is free from impurities and desires. It unfolds itself here, there, and everywhere, responding the call of Karma. It is not an individual reality, it is not a false existence, but is universal and pure. It comes from nowhere, it goes to nowhere ; it does not assert itself, nor is it subject to annihilation. It is for ever serene and eternal. It is the one, devoid of all determinations. This body of Dharma has no boundary, no quarters, but is embodied in all bodies. Its freedom or spontaneity is incomprehensible, its spiritual presence in things corporeal is incomprehensible,'¹³

The same idea is found in the meditative verse recited by the priests while worshipping Dharma Thākur which are obvious subsequent borrowing from Buddhism.

'The Śūnya-mūrti (the cipher-shaped) should be meditated upon as one who has no beginning middle or end, who has neither hands nor feet, who has no body nor any sound, who has no form or shape, who knows neither birth nor death, who is accessible to the best of saints only in their contemplation, who pervades one and all, who is the lord of all the world, who fulfils the desire of his devotees, and who showers his blessings both on gods and men,.

Even the epithet 'Śūnya-Mūrti' which have some relation with the Buddhist conception of nihilism (Śūnya Vāda) can also be applied to the Sun Śūnya-Mūrti' definitely means circular or the cipher which is the shape of the Sun. As a matter of fact the word 'Śūnya' has been explained as such in the 'Dharma-Pujā vidhāna' the code of worship of Dharma. In another meditative verse which is recited by the Dom priests of Dharma of the village Jhunka in the District of Bankura the deity is directly invoked as the Sun –

O God Arka (Sun) ;
 Thou hast not any shape, nor any form.
 Thou manifestest thyself in the Sun—
 Like a bunch of Champaka-flowers.
 Thou art seated in the heaven (sky)
 Pray respond to thy worshipper's call.¹³

The worship of Dharma is generally performed in three ways. Firstly, in many places Dharma is worshipped daily by simple rites and regarded as tutelary. There is no general and codified rule for the guidance of such daily worship, which depends on family tradition. Secondly, the worship of Dharma is also celebrated annually with rites which though differing from place to place are fundamentally identical all

over the area. Thirdly, on the nucleus of the main rituals many heterogeneous and popular elements sometimes entirely unconnected with the real cult, have grown up in the course of time and these have given it a very clumsy shape and a complex character very difficult to describe in every detail.

The annual worship is held not on the full moon day in the month of Vaisākh as it is usually the practice elsewhere but on the fifth lunar day of the dark half of the same month immediately following the full moon.

In a village in the Purulia District of West Bengal, Dharma worship is conducted as follows :

There is no idol or image of the deity in the village but on the occasion of the annual worship a man, barber by caste, goes to a village named Achikoda, three miles off, accompanied by drummers and other people to borrow a 'Dharma idol' from the house of Dom. The barber carries the Dharma slab on his head and takes it to the public place of worship of his own village. This is a hereditary function of the barber and he enjoys some rent-free land given on behalf of the villagers for this very purpose. The worship is performed by a Brahmin priest. The villagers claim that on previous occasions Cadak or swinging ceremony used to be held during the annual worship. Every year not more than three or four persons undergo cersain observances of Somyses are known as Bhaktya meaning devotees or active participants. On the day of the worship the chief among the Bhaktas who is known as the Pat-Bhakta carries the Ban Gosain which is also known as Bāneswar or as Pat, to a neighbouring tank and performs some rituals aided by other Bhaktas and watched by the whole village. At the end, the Pat-Bhakta carries the Bānerswar back to the place of worship and keeps it besides the 'Idol'. On the following day the same barber accompanied by the drummers and other villagers carries the 'idol' back to the village from which it was borrowed. No animal is sacrificed in the course of the annual worship.

From the above description of the worship of Dharma we understand the distinctive characteristics of Dharma worship. The worship of Dharma is no individualistic. It is not individual meta-physical realisation or attainment of Ultimate Reality. It is a system of worship participated by many people for many days together with the observance of a series of religious ceremonies and performance of a number of rites and rituals. The bhaktas, celebrated devotees perform

the different rituals and ceremonies and the main priest (Mūl-Bhakta) and his assistant practically guide the whole function. The people of the whole village or a particular area take part in the ceremony. Dharma Thākur is primarily a folk diety, who is identified with the primitive Sun-God

In an incantation of Dharma the Sun has been identified as follows :

Śūnyamārge sthitam (te) nityam Śūnya divākaram
Tamaham bhajāmi Śrīdharmaya nama.¹⁴

The cult of Dharma may have inherited the cult of the Sun because the attributes possessed by Dharma are the attributes of the Sun according to primitive Conception. In the primitive conception, the Sun is rightly supposed by primitive society to regulate rain and therefore when a drought occurs, it becomes necessary either to propitiate the Sun by means of worship or to compel it by magical practices to cause rainfall. Therefore, over the particular areas of West Bengal, where rain is always scare and drought is almost a common feature it is only natural to believe that the elaborate rituals which are performed during the period of scarcity of rain should be aimed at the Sun.¹⁵ Another evidence of the identification of the Sun with Dharma may be related with a ritual of Dharma-worship. Hook-swinging ceremony is observed in the annual worship of Dharma in many places in West Bengal. It is a popular form of the Sun festival held in imitation swinging of the sun at the beginning of spring or at the solstices—a piece of magic to help the sun move. The Bhaktās or the active participants of the annual worship of Dharma who now gyrate in the air believed to (be the hook-swinging are believed to) be the substitute for the human victims used to be sacrificed to the sun on similar occasions of the past. The point other identification of Dharma with the sun may be traced in their association with tortoise cult. The tortoise is the common emblem of the sun as well as of Dharma-Thākur. According to some scholars Dharma is the Sun-God. The tortoise (Kurma, Kāsyapa) as the symbol or emblem of the rising sun is probably a non-aryan concept. It is related with Buddhism also.

In the Sanskrit Dictionary Amarakoṣa Dharmarāja has been mentioned as a synonym for Buddha such as, 'Sarvajñaḥ sugata buddha dharma tathāgata' and in the Jātaka stories also the epithet Dharmārāj refers to Lord Buddha. It may be noted that the Dharmites still observed the days of Buddha-Pūrṇimā (i. e. Vaiśākhi-Pūrṇima, the birth day of Lord Buddha) and Āṣādhī Pūrṇimā, the day on which Dharma-cakra was first preached by Lord Buddha). But it will not

be fair to suppose from such identifications that Dharma or the Dharmarāja, or rather the Dharma Thākura of the Dharma cult directly represents Buddha. In discussing the Buddhistic foundation of the idea of Dharma we should remember that the Buddhism we are referring to here is not the Buddhism with which we are acquainted. In any of the standard Buddhistic schools, it is that phase of later Buddhism which is belived, mainly historically, as maintaining in a transformed and modified form, the continuity of the older thought.

III

In the above context we may say that the different kinds of folk religion have inherited many ideas and philosophical attitudes, different practices and rituals, from Buddhism. A religious cult grows and develops among the group of people who are adherents to that particular religious order with the codified and conventional religious system and socio-religious behaviour. Usually the group of people follow that religious system and form a religious community of their own. In a religious cult the people have their Gods, methods of worship, rites and rituals, beliefs and superstitions, magico-religious beliefs and other social and religious behaviour regulated for material and metaphysical aims. From the primitive society we find that man's interest are determined by the constant and severe struggle for existence, the search for food, the need of self defence against natural calamities and the attack of enemies. They live in a group which have customs sanctioned by the authority of tribal tradition to which the individual renders obedience as a matter of cause rather than a matter of personal convention. In that level their customs which may be called religious, were connected only with the food-getting together, marriage, birth, sickness, death, initiation, war, protection from beasts and from the weather. The initiation ceremonies of the primitive people, for instance, are religion, morality, magic, law,—all in one. The historical development of religion begins with the belief in a host of spirits wielding mysterious power, which can be influenced by certain rites duly performed. The first definite advance forward is made when the vague conception of 'mana' develops into that of living spirits, analogous to the spirits of which man is conscious within himself. The next advance is made when those spirits, first believed to be 'bound' each to its natural object—e. g. the stream, the rock, the tree, the cloud - come to be regarded as 'free' to quit

those objects at pleasure, just as it is believed that in dreams man's own spirit quits its body and roams about. Thus animism develops into spiritism. This is a distinct step forward, for it assumes, as Tiele has said, "an awakened consciousness of the superiority of the soul to the body and its relative independence." Spiritualism which culminates in the beautiful saying, 'God is a spirit, and whosoever worships Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth. And thus, though in childlike and unsophisticated form, it has proclaimed a great truth. The chief religious development which accompanies the movement from tribal to folk life is the movement from polydaemonism to polytheism. It means that the local nature-spirit themselves were gradually elevated to the status of God, dwelling in the heavenly region above the world. It is the distinctive characteristic of the folk cults of Bengal which has originated and developed round either a deity or the conception of Supreme Being or Absolute Reality as a nucleus. Dharma cult has a deity of Dharma, Bāul Cult has a Supreme Being like 'sain; and Nātha cult has an Absolute Reality. As the folk religions of Bengal are based on deity or object of worship or realisation, different social and religious interactions have been made among the folk cults and co-existence is traceable in those religious practices. As in followers and believers of a particular folk-cult of Bengal have come from a variety of social and ethnic group, so their religious ideas are formed not only from the beliefs and superstitions, rites and rituals of their traditional group-mind, but also influenced by the higher religious philosophy and practices such as Buddhism, Hinduism etc. *

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Notes :

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2. (Matilal Das and Piyushkanti Mahapatra, Lalan Gitika, 1958 Song No. 133.)
3. Folk songs of Lalan Shah, By Prof. Mansooruddin, p. 94.
4. Ibid. Song No. 460-467.
5. S. B. Dasgupta—Obscure Religious Cults. p-165 2nd edn. 1962.
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* Paper read at the XIVth International Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions held at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada, August 1980.

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8. As arira (Koḥ Sariahi Likko |
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Development of Buddhism in the Andhra country during the reign of Māthariputra Virapurisadata, the Great Ikshvaku Ruler

Dr. Kanai Lal Hazra

The Ikshvākus, who were probably the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas, captured the regions round about the mouths of the rivers Kṛishṇā and Godāvārī from the latter at the end of the first quarter of the third century A. D.¹ They are known from inscriptions of the second half of the third century A. D. found on the ruins of the Jaggayyapeta stūpa in the Nandigrām tāluk of the Kṛishṇā district and also at Nāgārjunikaṇḍa and Gurzala in the Guntur district.² These Ikshvākus of the Andhra country had probably some connections with the celebrated Ikshvāku family of Ayodhyā, the capital of the Kosala Janapada in the north.

King Cāntamūla I was succeeded by his son Māthariputra Virapurisadata in the third quarter of the third century A. D.³ He probably ruled for about twenty years. By establishing matrimonial alliances with the powerful royal houses of Ujjain and Vānavāsi in the North Kanara district, he had strengthened his political position in the Andhra region. Mahādevī Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, one of the queens, was a daughter of the Mahārāja of Ujjain. She was related to Rudrasena II, the contemporary Śaka Mahākshatrapa of western India. King Virapurisadata gave his daughter in marriage to the Vanavāsaka-mahārāja or the king of Vanavāsi, who was probably a ruler of Chuṭu-Sātakarṇi family of Kuntala.⁴

King Māthariputra Virapurisadata's reign is a landmark in the history of Buddhism in Southern India. It was largely through his efforts that the religion of Śākyamuni flourished and was able to occupy the most important place in the religious history of South India. He was a great admirer of the Buddha, as is shown by his

inscription in which he claims that he belonged to the same family as the Lord Buddha. Several inscriptions belonging to his reign have been discovered at Jaggayyapeta in the Kṛṣṇā district and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Guntur district. The inscriptions refer to private donations of pious men and women to some Buddhist establishments at Jaggayyapeta and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. They are of great importance for the study of Buddhism during the Ikshvāku period. The records of these inscriptions are adequate testimonies to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the reign of king Mātharīputra Virapurīṣadata. Most of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions refer to the benefactions made by some female members of the royal family of the Ikshvāku dynasty to the Mahācetiya, the Great Monastery of the capital city of Vijāyapurī. Probably, these ladies were Buddhists. These inscriptions indicate that this capital Vijāyapurī and its surrounding places were great centres of the religion of the Buddha. N. Dutt observes : "Just as Bodhi-Gayā grew up on the bank of the Nerañjarā as a very early centre of Hinayāna and a place of pilgrimage for the early Buddhists, as also did Amarāvati (extending to Jaggayyapeta) and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā (including its tributary Palar) as a flourishing centre of proto-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna in the pre-Christian and the early Christian era and a place of pilgrimage for the later Buddhists."⁵ It should be noted here that the inscriptions of the reign of Mātharīputra Virapurīṣadata were not his official documents but they record the private donations made by pious men, women and some female members of the royal family in favour of the Buddhist establishments. Practically, they were private records of the devotees of Buddhism in his reign. They do not mention anything about the king's religion and his services to Buddhism. But at the same time no record refers to him as a performer of any Brāhmaṇical sacrifice or his great respect for the Brāhmaṇical god Mahāseṇa. The king's claim of having belonged to the same family as the Lord Buddha and several donations to the Buddhist establishments made by certain ladies of the royal house are clear indications that not only the king was an ardent follower of Buddhism but he also gave his permission to the female members of the royal family to do something for the progress of Buddhism. Without his patronage it would not have been possible for the religion to attain such an exalted position and popularity during his reign. Probably, the king's leanings towards Buddhism had helped it to reach the height of its glory during this period.

Now let us study some of the inscriptions assigned to the period of Mātharīputra Virapurīṣadata which throw a flood of light

on the state of Buddhism in the contemporary Ikshvāku kingdom. The Āyaka Pillar inscription C3 belonging to the reign of Śrī Virapuriṣadata states : "Success ! Adoration to the lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, Omniscient, Compassionate towards all the sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion which have been conquered by him, the bull and muskelephant among great spiritual leaders, the perfectly Enlightened one, who is absorbed by the best of elements (i. e. by Nirvāṇa). At the Mahācetiya, the Mahātalavari Chā(m)tisiri (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsisthīputra Ikhāku Siri Chā(m)tamūla—absorbed by Mahāsena the Lord of Virūpakkhas the giver of crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land), unimpeded of purpose in all (his) aims, (she who is) the paternal aunt of king mādharīputa Siri Virapuriṣadata, (she who is) the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, the Mahātalavara, Vasiṭhīputa Khamdasiri of (the family of) the pukiyas ; and the mother of khamdasāgaramnaka, she who, out of compassion for Śramaṇas, Brāhmins, and those that are miserable, poor and destitute, is wont to bestow on them a matchless and ceaseless flow of velamic gifte, she, the great mistress of munificence devoted to all the virtuous, having due regard for the past, future and present (members) of both the houses in which she belongs for the attainment of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and in order to attain herself the bliss of Nirvāṇa and for the attainment of welfare and happiness of all the world, has erected this pillar. In the sixth year of the reign of king Virā Purisadata..."⁶

The Āyaka Pillar inscription C 2 of the reign of Śrī Virapuriṣadata describes : "Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of gods, absorbed by the best of elements. At the mahācetiya the Mahādevī Bapasiriṇikā (who is) the daughter of Hammasiriṇikā, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsisthīputa Ikhāku Siri-Chātamūla and (who is) the wife of king Siri Virapuriṣadata, with due regard for his mother Hammasiriṇikā, and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. For the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect has this pious foundation of the Mahācetiya been accepted. This pious foundation, consisting of the Mahācetiya, has been completed and the pillars have been set up by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the Digha and the Majjhima (nikāyas) by heart, (who is) a disciple of the Masters of the Ārya-saṃgho who are resident in Paṃnagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the Digha and Majjhima (nikāyas) and of the five Mātukas. In the sixth

year of (the reign of) king Śīri Virapuriṣadata.”⁷ The Aparamahā-vanaśēliya or the Aparamahā, Vanaśailiya should be taken as Aparāśaila, a sub sect of the Mahāsaṅghika sect.⁸ This Aparāśaila was also known as Caityika or Caityaka. Its adherents used to worship the caityas (the stūpas) and that is why it had received its name. Because of its establishment and popularity in the Andhra country, it was known as the Andhaka.⁹ The Andhaka or the Caityika or the Aparāśaila sect held that the worship of caityas, the construction of caityas, and a circumambulation of caityas could bring merits. According to it, the Buddhas were free from attachment, delusion and ill-will. For their ten powers, they were placed in better position than the Arhats. This sect believed that Nirvāṇa is a positive faultless state. There is a reference to the Ayirahaghāna or the Ayirahaṅgha or Āryasaṅgha in the above mentioned inscription. N. Dutt has identified it with the Mahāsaṅghika.¹⁰ According to him, “The whole Buddhist establishment at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa belonged to the Mahāsaṅghikas.”¹¹ But his opinion cannot be accepted in full in view of the fact that several Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions of king Ehuṇḍa Cāṇṭamūla II record the erection of pillars and monasteries for the benefit of the Masters of the Bahuśrutiya or the Bahusutiya and the Mahīśāsaka sects. 11 The inscription of Śīri Virapuriṣadata refers to the epithets like, ‘Dīgha-manigoya-dharana’ (or ‘the preachers and preceptors of the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas’), Dīgha-majjhima-nikāya-dharana, etc. The use of such appellations points to the existence of *Suttapiṭaka* division of Pālī literature. N. Dutt remarks : ‘Possibly the inscriptions were concerned with a Buddhist sect which was not exactly the Theravāda (the Pālī school) but had a literature and tradition very similar to those of the Theravāda school’.¹² The inscription also records the expression Paṇḍa mātuka or pañca-mātuka. N. Dutt observes : “It is an irregular form of pañca-mātrikā (Pālī : mātikā). The term ‘mātikā’ denotes the detailed contents of an Abhidhamma text. It is used also to indicate a complete *Abhidhamma text*, Hence, it may be surmised that the ‘Pañcamātukā’ refers to five and not seven of the *Abhidhamma texts*. Perhaps the two texts omitted are the *Paṭṭhāna* and the *Kathāvatthu*, which were later added to the Abhidhamma texts. Among the Vinaya texts enlisted in Nāgārjuna’s Catalogue there are four works with mātrkā as a part of their titles though none of them belong to the Mahāsaṅghikas. J. Przyluski writes that the Mahāsaṅghikas had a particular fancy for the number ‘five’, specially in connection with the *Vinaya texts*. Mātrkā was used by the ancient compilers to denote the *Vinaya piṭaka* as much as the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, hence the word Pañca-Mātukā of the inscription may well mean the Vinaya Piṭaka of

the Mahāsaṅghikas, whose texts also had five divisions like the other schools.”¹³

The Āyaka pillar inscription B 4 of Śrī Virapuriṣadata's reign says : “Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Budha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, enlightened with perfect enlightenment, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders’ absorbed by the best of elements (i. e. Nirvāṇa). At the Mahāchetiya, the Mahāsenāpatinī Chula Chātasirinikā (who is) a daughter of (the family of) the Kulahakas and the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, the Mahātalavara, Vāsiṭhīputa Khamdachalikireṇmaṇaka of (the family of) the Hiraṇnakas, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa has created this stone pillar. In the sixth year of (the reign of) king Siri Virapuriṣadata.”¹⁴

The Second Apsidal Temple inscription F of the reign of Śrī Virapuriṣadata says ; “Success ! Adoration to the Lord Buddha, born of a race (which is) sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of Ikhāku's lineage ; who has shown the road to welfare and happiness to gods and men and all beings, who has conquered and put down the pride and arrogance of Māra's hosts called lust, anger fear, desire, thirst, delusion and hatred ; who, great of power, is possessed of the ten powers, who has set in motion the wheel of the Law (pertaining to) the Eight-fold path, whose graceful and well-formed feet (are marked with) the sign of the wheel, whose splendour is that of the newly risen sun, whose sight is lovely as that of autumnal moon, and who is magnified by the thoughts of all the world. In the fourteenth 14th (year) of king Mātharīputa, in the sixth—6th-fortnight of winter, on the thirteenth 13th day. For the benefit of the masters and of the fraternities (of monks) of Tambapamṇa (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta (Skt. Kirāta), Tosali, Avaramta (Skt. Aparānta), Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Palura and the Isle of Tambapamṇi (Ceylon). At Siripavata (Skt. Śrīparvata) on the east side of Vijayapuri at the convent on the Lesser Dhammagiri a Chaitya hall with a flooring of slabs, with a Chaitya and provided with all the necessities, was caused to be made by the female laymember Bodhisiri (Skt. Bodhiśrī) for the sake of her own husband Bodhimnaka, and of his father, the householder Revata residing at Govagāma and of his mother Budhamnika and of his brothers Chamdamukhana, Karumbudhina (and) Haghamna and of (his) sister Revatimnikā and of (his) brother's sons Mahā-Chamdamu-

kha (Skt. Mahā-Chandramukha) and Chūla-Chaṇḍamukha (Skt. Kshudra-Chandramukha) and of (his) sister's sons Mahā-mūla and Chūla-mūla, and (for the sake) of her own grandfather Mūla-vāṇiya and of her grandmother Budha-vāṇikinā and of her maternal uncles, the treasurer Bhada (skt. Bhadra), Bodhisamma (Skt. Bodhisarman), Chaṇḍa (Skt. Chandra) (and) Bodhika, and of her maternal grandmother—Bodhi and of her own father Budhi-Vāṇiya and of her mother—of her brother Mūla, of her sisters Budhamṇikā, Mūlamṇikā and Nāgabodhinikā, of her daughter Viramṇikā, of her sons Nāgāmna and Viramṇa and of her daughter-in-law Bhadasiri (Skt. Bhadrāsiri) and Misi (Skt. Miśri). And even thuswise a chaitya hall at the Kulaha-vihāra, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Sīhala-vihāra one-1-cell at the Great Dhammagiri, a mandava-pillar at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practice at the Devagiri, a tank, verandah and mandava at puvaseḷa (Skt. purvaśaila), a stone mandava at the eastern gate of the great chaitya at Kantakasela (Skt. Kantakaśaila), three 3 cells at Hiramuthuva, seven 7 cells at Papilā, a stone mandava at puphagiri (Skt. Pushpagiri)—a stone mandava at the vihāra. And all this above description has been dedicated for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world. This work was caused to be made by the three superintendents of works, the thera Chaṇḍamukha, and the thera Dhammanandi and the thera Nāga. (It is) the work of the stone mason Vidhika."¹⁵

This inscription is important from the historical point of view. It throws light on the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the reign of Śrī Mātharīputra Virapurīṣadatta. The countries mentioned in the inscription can be identified without any difficulty. The kingdom of Gandhāra lay on both sides of the Indus. It seems to have included the Rawalpindi district of the Punjab and the Peshawar district of the North-western Frontier Province. Cina and Cilāta (Kirāta) were the countries situated to the east and north-east of India. The city of Tosali can be identified with modern Dhauli of Puri district and some parts of the adjoining districts of Orissa. Avaramta (Aparānta) has been identified with Northern Konkan. The country of Vaṃga can be identified with central and Eastern Bengal along with a part of Southern Bengal. The country of Vanavāsī is modern Banavāsī in (north) Kanara. The Yavana country was probably Alasanda in the North-Western Frontier Province and Afghanistan. The country of Damila has been identified with the Tamila country. According to some, Palura was Dantapura, the ancient capital of Kālīṅga. But C. E. A. W. Oldham has identified paloura with a village called Palura about six miles north-east of Ganjām.¹⁶

It should be noted here that there is a difference of opinion among the scholars on the meaning of the words “pasādakānam theriyānam” of the inscription. N. Dutt, while explaining the work “pasādakānam”, mentions that Childers explains “pasādaka” by “causing serenity and happiness” and has referred to its use as “dipappasādake there” “the priest who brought peace or pleasure to the island” (Māhāvamsā, XX, 8). Childers has also given another meaning “the priest who converted the island.” N. Dutt says that it should never be used as “conversion” but should be understood by the meaning “the entry of any saint into a country gladdens the hearts of the people of the country.”¹⁷ According to him, “theriyānam” were “nuns” and he translated the extract thus : “Those nuns (not monks, as Dr. Vogel writes, for the word is theriyānam) who gladdened the hearts of the people of Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta, Tosali, Avaramta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Polura and the Isle of Tambapamṇi (Ceylon)”.¹⁸ He also states further that the donor of the inscription was upāsikā or lay-women worshipper, who, for the glorification of the nuns, referred in the inscription to the nuns of all countries who by their saintly lives brought joy and peace to the people of the countries visited by them. Instead of accepting of J. Ph. Vogel’s translation “the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who had converted Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta, etc.”, N. Dutt has translated the passage in this way : “Among the nuns who have brought joy and peace to the people of Kasmira, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta, Tosali, Avaramta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Palura and the Isle of Tambapamṇi, the gift is made for the acceptance by the nuns of Tambapamṇi alone.”¹⁹ N. Dutt further remarks that nuns belonging to various countries assembled at Śrīparvata and its surrounding places which became important centres of Buddhism and wealthy lay-worshippers of the religion of the Buddha from a particular Country constructed religious establishments for the residence of monks and nuns of their own country.²⁰ Probably, an Upāsikā, a lay-woman worshipper of Ceylon, has erected a caitya-hall to be used for the nuns only of her own country. One Madras epigraphist did not accept J. Ph. Vogel’s translation. According to him, “this hill (Śrīparvata) was sacred to pilgrims from Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta, Tosali, Avaramta, Vanavāsi, Tambapamṇi, etc.”²¹ D. L. Barua has neither accepted J. Ph. Vogel’s translation of the passage of inscription nor has agreed with N. Dutt in his interpretation of the short extract. He says : “Both the scholars have erred on the wrong side. Both of them have failed to note that Theriyānam occurs as an adjunct to Ācariyānam, both of which may be

combined into single expression Theriyācariyāṇaṃ, 'to the teachers represented by the Theras, exponents of Theravāda'.²² He states further that the expression 'ācariyāṇaṃ theriyāṇaṃ Tambapamṇakānam' should be taken to mean 'to those who were (known) to the people of Tambapamṇi (Ceylon) as teachers of the Theriya traditions and he has translated the whole passage thus : 'The Right Reverend teachers, the gladdeners of Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta, Tosali, Avaramta, Varṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Palura and the Isle of Tambapamṇi (who were known) to the inhabitants of Tambapamṇi (Ceylon) as upholders of the Theriya tradition, i. e. of Theravāda'.²³ S. Sengupta has expressed his opinion that the word 'Theriyāṇaṃ' has connection with the well-known word 'Theravāda' and it can be applied to the monks who were upholders of Sthaviravādi tradition (or Theravādi monks) who belonged to the Hīnayāna sect.²⁴ He also says that the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. III) has also used the word 'therikā' (a substitute reading) in that sense. He comments further that the orthodox or the Sthaviravādi monks (sthavirikā-therikā-theriyā) went to different places and propagated the religion of the Buddha. S. Sengupta and D. L. Barua like N. Dutta, do not agree with J. Ph. Vogel regarding the conversion of the Indian provinces by the Ceylonese monks on the ground that the Ceylonese chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, an important work for the history of Buddhism in Ceylon, is silent on it which should have been regarded as the most important religious event in Ceylon.²⁵ On the contrary, the *Mahāvamsa* refers to the conversion of Ceylon and the Indian provinces by Indian monks and the visit of Buddhist monks from important centres of Buddhism such as Rājagaha, Isipatana, Vesālī, Kashmir, Vanavāsi, Yonagara, etc. to Ceylon to attend the ceremony of consecration of the Mahāthupa of the Ceylonese king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.²⁶ The Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription refers to last three countries of the *Mahāvamsa*. S. Sengupta further points out that there is a reference to 'Tambapamṇidīpa' and 'Tambapamṇakānam' in the inscription. He thinks that in order to give prominence to the 'island of Ceylon', the inscriber has separately mentioned 'Tambapamṇidīpa' (the island of Ceylon) and has clearly distinguished it from the word 'Tambapamṇakānam', which was most probably the riverine region belonging to the ancient Pāṇḍya kingdom of Southern India and was close to the river Tāmraparṇī.²⁷ He observes further that the inscription possibly indicates that the 'Theravādi' monks visited different places to disseminate Buddhism from an important Buddhist centre of Southern India.²⁸

The above mentioned inscription is important from the point of view of the history of Buddhism. From it we know that in the

reign of Śrī Māṭharīputra Virapuriṣadata, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa at Śrī Parvata near Dhānyakaṭaka and its adjoining places in Southern India became famous Buddhist centres and these centres were visited by a large number of pilgrims from various places in India and outside for the propagation of Buddhism. The inscription refers to the Kulsha-vihāra which was established by the family members of Kulshakas, who were matrimonially connected with the Ikshvākus.²⁹ The Sihala-vihāra (Simhala, i. e. Ceylon vihāra) was possibly founded by a Ceylonese or by some for the accommodation of Ceylonese monks. Puvasela (pūrvaśaila) was the place where the monks belonging to pūrvaśaila sect, a branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas, used to reside. Kaṇṭakasela or Kaṇṭakaśaila or Kaṇṭakasula was the place between the village of Guduru and the mouth of the Krishṇā. Puphagiri was Puspagiri in Cuddapah district.

The First Apsidal Temple inscription E is another evidence of the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the reign of Śrī Virapuriṣadata. It records: "Success ! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. A chetiya-ghara (chaitya-hall) chatisiri (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāseṭhīputa Siri-Chātāmūla of the house Ikḥāku, who is favoured (absorbed) by Mahāsena, the Lord of Virūpakhas, the offerer of Agnihotra, Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvanmedha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (who is) the wife of Vāseṭhīputa Khamdasiri of (the family of) the Pugiyas and (who is) the mother of Khamdasāgaramnaga, for the longevity and for the victory of her son-in-law king Māṭharīputa Siri Virapuriṣadata of the house of Ikḥāku and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa, having due regard to the past, future and present bliss of the great community of Buddhist monks consisting of all the holy men who have renounced the world and who have penetrated into various countries, and of both the houses to which she herself belongs, has erected a stone shrine surrounded by a cloister and provided with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya for the benefit of the masters, belonging to the sect of the Aparamahāvīnaseliyas. In the eighteenth year anno 18 of king Siri Virapuriṣadata."³⁰

The Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions are of great importance for the study of Buddhism in the reign of Śrī Māṭharīputra Virapuriṣadata. It is pity that the inscriptions do not give us any evidence to show his direct role played by him in the development of Buddhism during the Ikshvāku period. But it may be presued from various religious

activities mentioned in the inscriptions during his reign that not only the Ikshvāku king took keen interest in the progress of Buddhism, but queens, princes, nobles as well as the common people, probably under his great inspiration, patronised it and gave their full support and co-operation, for its glorification. It is noteworthy that in the work of merit the entire royal family, the nobility and the common people participated along with the king. Chāmtiśrī, who was a sister of Cāmtamūla and who was an aunt of king Māṭharīputra Virapuriṣadata, renovated the famous Mahācetiya, the Great Cetiya, where the Buddha's relics were kept. She also gave 300 dīnāri māśakas to the Great Cetiya. Bapiśrī or Chāmtiśrī and Rudradhara Bhaṭṭaśikā, the two queens of Māṭharīputra Virapuriṣadata, made important contributions to the Buddhist world by offering gifts to the Buddhist establishments. Bodhiśrī, an upāsikā, occupied an important position in the religious world for her meritorious activities. She had been probably a royal princess before she became an upāsikā. Many caityas, mandapas and ponds were dedicated by her and the vihāras known as the Cūladhammagirikulavihāra, Sihala vihāra, Devarakana Mahāvihāra became very famous in the reign of Māṭharīputra Virapuriṣadata and she patronised all of these Buddhist establishments. The inscriptions refer to Chandamukha therā, Dhammanandi therā and Ānanda therā, who undoubtedly were great Buddhist scholars of the Ikshvāku period. Many viharas, stūpas and caityas were constructed and renovated and most of the Ikshvāku inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Jaggeyyapeta were incised with dedicatory records in the reign of Māṭharīputra Virapuriṣadata. His capital became an important centre of Buddhist culture and learning. "The reign of Virapuriṣadata was a red-letter day in the annals of Andhra Buddhism, as royal patronage of Buddhism was not found in such a large measure at any subsequent period."³¹

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Wealth of Poetry in the Telakatahagāthā

Asha Das

The ‘*Telakatahagāthā*’—loosely called a ‘*Śataka Kāvya*’—is actually a collection of 98 (and not 100) stanzas written in Sanskritised Pali representing the height of poetic excellence of non-canonical Pali poetry considered from the point of contents, metrical composition, sincerity of devotional feeling and high literary merit of the work. The work was edited for the first time by Goonaratane in Roman Characters and published in the Journal of the Pali Text Society for the year 1884.

The verses or poetic sermons of this poem exercise a magic spell on the reader through a rare fusion of thought and feeling, magnificent lyrical quality and forceful presentation of graceful concepts. The song sequences of ‘*gāthā*’ or poetic saga are highly satisfying—both intellectually and emotionally.

The poem is divided into nine heads, each head depicting a bare outline of some particular topic of the Buddhist doctrines. These doctrines are embodied in the Ślokas noted against each head :

- 1) Ratanattaya (Ślokas 2-5)
- 2) Maraṇānussati („ 6-28)
- 3) Aniccalakkhaṇa („ 29-43)
- 4) Dukkhalakkhaṇa („ 44-54)
- 5) Anattalakkhaṇa („ 55-63)
- 6) Asubhalakkhaṇa („ 64-77)
- 7) Duccarita—ādinava („ 78-83)
- 8) Caturārakkhā („ 84-88)
- 9) Paṭiccasamuppāda („ 89-98)

The author is unknown but in view of the wide range of intrinsic knowledge characterising the *Telakatahagāthā*, it may be assumed that the author was a devout Buddhist monk.

The title of the poem is fully justified. ‘*Telakatahagāthā*’, means some *gāthās* or sermons of the Dying Arahant from the oil cauldron or

Vat, i. e. a large tumbler—like cooking utensil. A thera, Kalyāṇiya was sentenced to death for the alleged adultery with the queen-consort of King Kālaṇṭissa (306-207 B. C.). He was condemned to be boiled to death in a cauldron of oil. So the title of this poem ‘Telakaṭāhagāthā’ or ‘Gāthās from the oil Cauldron’ is proper and justified. The story of the Dying Arahāt is to be found in the *Mahāvamsa*, *Rasavāhini*, *Kākaṇṭissārāññavatthu* and *Saddhammālikāra* etc. It will be interesting to those who study its language and history.

The work is pre-eminently of the ‘Kāvya’ category. In moral and doctrinal excellence the *Telakaṭāhagāthā* surpasses all other great poetical works of the non-canonical Pali literature. The Gāthā is written throughout in the Vasantatilaka metre and in the use of metre the poet is highly accomplished. G. P. Malalasekera stated that “the style of the poem clearly shows that it was written by a man who also knew Sanskrit quite well. Only such a man could have constructed in the elaborate and beautiful metre of the poem, so delicate a specimen of mosaic work in Sanskritized Pali” (Pali Literature of Ceylon, RASGBI, London, 1928, p. 163).

The fundamental characteristic of the Gāthā is its suggestiveness. It is a golden mean between the utter simplicity of the canonical texts on the one hand and ornamental elaboration of the later writers on the other. The language is very appropriate but simple and chaste, style refined and dignified and the diction vivid and elegant. The main object of the poet here, writings, as we learn from the concluding portion of the Gāthā is the propagation of Dhamma so that people may realise the truth and attain Nirvāṇa. His style is also free from long-compounds. On the whole the lucidity of contents and sweetness of his verses have a deep appeal on the reader.

The poem is best known for its similes and metaphors which are apt, original and striking. They are culled from different spheres of human knowledge, not excluding even grammar and rhetorics. The poet was a keen and dispassionate observer. He can listen to the mountain, the murmuring sound of flowing waters, the winds, the ocean and river around him. There can be no doubt that the work was the production of an artist.

A picturesque description of the Lord Buddha illustrates the poet’s power of minute attention to details. The two eyes of the Buddha are treated on the analogy of the full-blown lotuses: *Buddhā pi buddhakamalāmalacārunettā* (21)—The Buddha possesses a pair of eyes resembling two full-blown lotuses. The Supreme Buddha with

his train of disciples is compared to the full-moon surrounded by myriads of stars : Tārāvaliparivuto pi ca puṇṇacando (35).

The Supreme Law preached by the Lord Buddha is like a luminous flight of stairs leading to Nibbāna—Sopānamālam amalāṃ (3). The religion preached by the Sākya Muni is likened to a bridge on the ocean of metamorphosis—Samsārasāgarasamuttaranāyasetum (3) and a road free from infernal regions—Sabbāgatibhayavivajjita-Khemamaggāṃ (3).

There is a brilliant picture of the Munis and the Bodhisattvas also :

Samsāradukkhāṃ agaṇeyya yathā munindo
Gambhīrapāramitasāgaram uttaritvā
Ñeyyaṃ abodhi nipuṇaṃ hatamohajālo
Tasmā sadā parahitaṃ paramaṃ ciṇṭha (96)

The Supreme Muni, who sailed across the deep ocean of ten noble attributes or Pāramitās regardless of horrors of metamorphosis, and who destroyed the flame of ignorance and by self-exertion gained a full knowledge of all that should be known. And again :

Ohāya so'dhigatamokkhasukkhāṃ paresaṃ—(97)

Suspending the attainment of Nīrvāṇa, at a time when he was not far from it, Bodhisattva passed through many a dreadful birth on account of his sympathetic feelings toward others. Here the poet is capable of graphic description that appeals direct to the reader's heart,

The pictures of a scapegrace beggar (79), an adulterer (80), a liar and an addict to poisonous and intoxicating liquors (82) are delicately drawn. A fine example of the poet's charming fancy and gentle humour is to be found in these pictures. The pictures are really fine and realistic and give ample proof of the poet's power of description—simple, a delicate, graphic and true to life. Our poet unquestionably is at his best in simple and elegant description by which a clear picture is presented to the readers. Here the famous metaphors and similes are taken mostly from the common life. There is nothing permanent in the universe. Living beings inevitably drop into the dreadful abyss of death. Here living beings are compared to a thundering shower of rain heavily pouring down from the clouds in the sky to the earth below :

Kāmaṃ patanti mahiyā khalu vassadhārā
Vijjullatāvitata meghamukhā pamuttā.
Evaṃ narā maraṇabhīmapapātamajjhe—(13).

Wealth is like wind, fire or water, and life is like a flash of lightning—

Dolānalānilatarāṅgasamā hi bhogā,
Vijjupabhāticapālāni ca jivitāni
Māyāmarīci jalasomasamaṃ sarīraṃ—(43).

The human body is compared to a mass of foam—Phenapiṇḍa sadisaṃ ; a weapon pointed and poisoned—Visa sūla Kappaṃ ; and rickety building—Jiṇṇālayaṃ (48) etc. Human body is fragile and transitory. 'It is equal to an unannealed vessel of clay—āmakabhājanaṃ va(33), a ship—Sarīraṇāvā (32) ; and rickety vessel—Jajjarabhājanābha (9).

This idea figures off and on in several other canonical texts but the *Telakaṭṭhagāthā* has considerably heightened the effect by the delicate and masterly touch of the poet. The might of Death to obliterate all is sadly recognised :

Brahmā surā suragaṇā ca mahānubhāvā
Gandhabbakinnaramhoraga-rakkhasā ca
Te cāpare ca maraṇaggi sikhāya sabbe.

Ante patanti salabhā ive Khīṇa puññā—(19). Similar to the fate of insects drawn towards the light of a burning candle, the pre-eminent Brahmās, the gods, anti-gods, demigods, nāgas, rākṣasas, and all the other beings are snatched away by the flame of death at the end of their terms of life. And :

Rāmajjunappabhuti bhūpatipuṅgavā ca,
Sūrāpure raṇamukhe vijitārisaṅghā

Tepiha caṇḍmaranogha nimuggadehā—(17). Valiant monarchs, such as, Rāma, Arjuna and others that had come off victorious in battlefields, dipping their bodies in waters of mortality, were at last numbered with the dead.

Or again :

Rantvā sadā piyatare divi devarajje

Tamhā cavanti vibudhā api khīṇapuññā—(34). In accordance with their merits, the gods at the expiration of their term of blissfulness leave heaven, and so do the children of the earth when their life is extinct.

The Gāthā is qualified by a string of epithets as adorned by the qualities of simplicity, clearness, variety and elevation arising from the use of conventional poetic terminology.

Descriptions of death lurk largely in the Gāthā, but our poet

has set the examples in his elaborate accounts of the might and horror of death. Death always makes an end of every one, betraying no mark of sympathy either with the sick, infirm or young. So it is properly compared to a wild and mighty elephant : maraṇa matta mahāgaja (21) ; Lokam sadā hanati maccu mahāgajīdo—(22). Death is also called the mighty ocean : maraṇodadhimhi (14) As the terrible, big waves of the ocean—roll and dash to wash away the sea-beach, so also all living beings roll and dash to disappear in the mighty ocean of death.

Death is compared to a strong and terrific tide : maccuvaḷa-bhāmukha (20) ; dreadful abyss : maraṇabhīma papāta (13) ; a violent storm : maraṇa caṇḍa samīraṇa (16) ; and a dreadful flood : Caṇḍa maroṇogha (17). Death armed with the sabre of infirmity, always destroys all living creatures gradually. It is the sign of aging. So death is a symbol of 'jarā' : Jarāsiddharam hi maccu (27) and 'Māra'—maraṇa māra (28). It is also revealed as the : beach of mighty Ocean—maraṇodadhimhi (14) and a bull : maraṇūsabho (15).

As the fall of a man hurled from the edge of a mountain is unpreventable, so death is inevitable and universal :

Kāmaṇ narassa patato girimuddhanāto,
Majjhe na kiñci bhayanissaraṇāya hetu
Kāmaṇ vajanti maraṇaṇ tihavesu sattā—(12).

Metaphors of beauty abound in this Gāthā side by side with those of strained taste and pointless wit. The body from which urine and excrement perpetually run out is compared to a leaky pot of salt : Deho sadā savati loṇaghaṭo va bhinno (70). The human body is also equated to a bubble of water : phenapinḍasadiso (48, 70), and always as unpleasant in smell : paṭikūlagandho (70). It is suspicious as the haunt of a serpent : Āsivīsālayanibho (70). The fatal blow is depicted very finely. Nor is there any other horrid grave than that of the body itself : Dehaṇ vinā bhayakaraṇ na susānamatthi (66). The acts of man's life are finely depicted in a manner of his own way as finished as :

Putto pitā bhavati mātu patiha putto,
Nārī kadāci janani ca pitā ca putto—(37). The son in previous birth took the place of the father, and the father of the son, the wife, too, on another occasion, was neither the mother, the father, or the son.

The poet is capable of painting lovely pictures and charming situations. Here the metaphors are rich in graceful thoughts and

prettiness, but nature is inseparably blended with mortality :
Phullāni pallava latā phala.saṅkulāni,

Rammāni candana vanāni manoramāni (42). The most embellished gardens, abundant with verdure and foliage etc. Also, the pleasing paradise of Indra decorated with various flowers and creepers, Rantvā pure vividhaphullalatākulehi. Deva pi Nandanavane ... (38). Or again : Tārāvali parivuto' pi Ca puṇṇa cando—(35). The night is decorated with moon and myriads of stars.

There is humour also in his expression ;

Loakaṃ sadā nanu dhuvaṃ maranāya gantuṃ—(11). Everyone is born destined to share the fate of death. And ; Nāsaṃ gatā jagati ke maranā pamuttā (17). In this world there is none excluded from death.

There is a fine balance in the use of his Śabdalaṃkāra and Arthālaṃkāra. The poet is not fond of creating sound effect at the cost of sense. He is not at all fond of Śleṣa or irony and was certainly capable of elegance and skill in the use of language, as in the following famous description of :

Poso yathā hi Kadalīsu vinibbhujanto

Sāraṃ tad appaṃ api nopalābhēyya Kāmaṃ—(59). The existence of a soul is evidently compared to one persevering to obtain a solid beam from the stem of a plantain tree.

In this poem much happier is the famous simile of a candle. The bright light of a candle is extinguished by a violent storm, so, the shining lamp of age of the living beings is put out by the strong wind of death. Here light of a candle is compared to complete cessation or Nibbāna ;

Jātikkhayā iha jarā maraṇādi dukkhaṃ,

Sabbakkhayaṃ bhavati dīpa ivā' nilena—(92)

Clapping of hands produces a Sound In a beautiful stanza a cause for every effect is compared to a sound produced by clapping of hands : Saddova pāṇitala ghaṭṭana hetu jāto. (90).

Hence there must be a cause for every effect :

Evañ ca hetuphala bhāvavibhāgabhinno

Loko udeṭi ca vinassati tiṭṭhati ca—(90).

In our writer the philosopher and the poet, the investigator of the utter unsatisfactoriness of life and the seeker after poetic values and meanings, blend into one integrated personality in a unified perspective. The Mount Meru which stands unshaken before a strong

wind is equal to the man who is free from Lokadhamma and pāpa-Kilesas or desires : Phuṭṭhaṃva merusikharaṃ mahatānīlena (95).

The inevitability of death is recorded in a very refined but elaborate art : Khitto yathā nabhasi kenacideva leḍḍu,

Bhūmiṃ samāpatati bhāratayā khaṇena.
Jātattam eva khalu kāraṇam ekam eva,
Lokaṃ sadā nanu dhuvaṃ maraṇāya gantuṃ—(11).

As it is evident that a stone thrown up is immediately attracted to the earth on account of its weight, so it happens, most undoubtedly, that everyone born is destined to share the fate of death.

The poet is also a master of simple pathos :

Nhātvā jalaṃ hi sakalaṃ catusāgarassa
Meruppamāṇam api gandhaṃ anuttaraṇca
Pappoti n' eva manujo hi suciṃ kadāci. (65)

Man will never be free from impurity, nor see anything good in this human frame, although he may use for his ablution the immense mass of water contained in the four great oceans, and for his perfumery an enormous quantity of scent, as high as the height of Meru. Or again :

Antogataṃ yadi ca mutta Karisa bhāgaṃ,
Dehā vahiṃ aticareyya vinikkhamitvā.
Mātāpitā vikaruṇā ca vinaṭṭhapemā (67)

Even parents who are apt to entertain a feeling of antipathy against their bodies, are placed in a contrary position, exposing to the view of others.

In the different parts of the Gāthā we find many curious specimens of the influence of Canonical Pālī on the poet. Some of its verses bear close resemblance to those of the Suttanipāta, e. g.,

Telakaṭṭhagāthā

Suttanipāta

Verse No. 10

Sallasutta No. 4

„ No. 11

„ No. 3

„ No. 69

Khaggavisāna No. 16 and 17

Some of the stanzas of the Gāthā recall to our memory of the stanzas of the *Dhammapada*, e. g.

Telakaṭāhagāthā

Caṇḍamarāṇogha (17)
jarāsiddharanmhi maccum (27)
Sarīra nāvā (32)
āmaka bhājanamva (33)
phenapiṇḍana samo (35) }
phenapinda sadisam (48) }
Pajjalita Lohaguḷam gilanti (39,45)
māyā mārīci (55) }
marīci toyam (57,58) }
marīci salilam (62) }
paradāram laṅghaniyam (80)
merusikharam mahatānilena (95)

Dhammapada

Mahogho va maccu (287)
jarā ca maccu ca (135)
imam nāvam (369)
Kumbhūpamam Kāyamim m (40)
phenūpamam (46)
aggisikhūpamo ayogulo (308)
Lohaguḷam gile (371)
maricidhammam (46)
paradārūpasevi (309) -
apuñña'abhu.
Himavanto va pavvato (304)
Selo yathā ekoghano (81)

As often the idea has a prototype in the *Bodhicharyāvatāra* also, e. g. in the *Bhodhicharyāvatāra* :

Kṣhaṇa sampadiyam sudurlabhā pratilavdhā puruṣārtha sādhanī
(1st chapter, Bodhichittānusamsa, verse No. 4), in the *Telakaṭāhagāthā*
there is perfect simplicity of passionate longing for human life :

Laddhāna dullabhatarīca maṇussa yoniṃ

Sabham papañca rahitam khaṇasampadañca (98).

Or again : Rātrau Yathā megha—ghanāmdhakāre vidyut
Kṣhaṇam darśayati prakāśam (verse No. 5).

In the Gāthā —

Vijjupabhāti capalāni ca jivitāni (43). Life is like a lightning.
In another stanza we may have a reminiscence of Bodhisattva-idea
also. e. g., Ohāya sodhigata makkha sukham paresām

Atthāya sañcari bhavesu mahābbhayesu (97)

Suspending the attainment of Nibbāna, at a time when he was not
far from it, Bodhisattva passed many a dreadful birth on account of
his sympathetic feelings toward others. This theme the poet has
chosen to expand and illustrate with all the resources of a refined
and elaborate art.

Many lines of the *Telakaṭāhagāthā* are so striking that they
have since then assumed the character of proverbs. Here the lan-
guage is more commonplace but neatly phrased :

Khitto yathā nabhasi kenacideva leḍḍu

bhūmim samāpatati bhāratayā khaṇena (11)

—a stone thrown up is immediately attracted to the earth.

Āpuṇṇatā na salilena jalālayassa,

Kaṭṭhassa cāpi bahutā na hutāsanassa (23)

—Neither the ocean is over-flooded, though it receives the element of water from every river, nor the blazing fire gets tired of consuming the firewood.

Hetuṃ vinā na bhavatihi ca kiñci loke (90) There must be a cause for every effect.

Āyukkhayaṃ samupayāti khaṇe Khaṇepi (49)

Momeni after moment living beings advance nearer and nearer to the grave.

Appaṃ Sukhaṃ jalalavo viya bho tiṇagge,

Dukkhanu sāgarajalaṃ viya sabba loke (52)

Felicity in all the worlds is insignificant as a dewdrop at the end of a blade of grass, and infelicity so immense.

Nanu hatthagataṃ hi sāraṃ (89)—acquired wealth is nothing.

Saddo va pāṇitala ghaṭṭana (90)—sound are produced by the clapped hands.

Even when the poet's language becomes intricate it possesses a charm of its own. e. g.,

Deho sadā savati loṇa ghaṭo va bhinno (70)

Kālaṃ tathā na parivattatī taṃ atītaṃ (49)

Attānameva parihaññati attaheto (47)

Dehaṃ vinā bhayakaraṃ na susānamatthi (66)

His use of alliteration is skilful and supreme to such an extent as to result in a magnificent resonance with the help of primary, middle and end-rhymes, e. g.,

Hatthe Karoṭha hatthasāraṃ (32)

Khandhesu pañcasu chaḷāyatanesu tesu (55, 59)

Kāyo sada Kalimalā Kalilaṃ hi loke (53)

Here his command over language is undoubtedly great.

phullāni pallava latā phala saṅkulāni

rammāni candana vanāni manoramāni (42)

Gaṅgātaraṅga jalabubbula sannibhesu (55)

It appears that the author has a firm background of the then Indian literature. He is very fond of using proper names from the Brahmanical literature, e. g.,

Rāma, *Ajjuna* (17), *Brahmā* (19), *Indo* (35), *Suravarā* (41), *Mahissara* (41), *Vetaraninadī* (41), *Gaṅgā* (41, 56), *Dhanada* (78), *Makaraddhaja* (78).

The poet has a thorough grasp of the underlying principles of Buddhism. This is evident from his happy and liberal use of many doctrinal words and meanings in his writings, e. g.,

Appameyyaṃ (9), *Dukkhaṃ*, *Aniccaṃ*, *Anattaṃ* (9) *Māra* (28), *Chalāyatana* (55), *Mettāṃ* (88), *Pāramitā* (96), *Paṭiccasamuppāda* (90, 91), *Pamādaṃ* (60), *Parittaṃ* (88), *Jāti* (91, 92), *Jarāmarāṇa* (92), *Pañca-Khanda* (55), *Maraṇānussati* (88).

We need not suppose that our poet holds any view quite foreign to Indian poets. He is wholly Indian in spirit. Necessary words are taken from Indian environment, e. g.,

udumbarassa *Kusuma* (58). *Poso* (59), *migo* (62) *loṇa ghaṭo* (70), *madhu* (76), *dīpa* (92, 20), *Mahādīpo* (20), *saṇḍaṃ* (15), *usabho* (15), *Pañka* (71), *dappana* (75), *yācako* (79), *āmaka bhājanaṃ* (33), *nala nālikadali* (47), *Kamalaṃ* (71), *sasigāla* (69).

In different portions of the *Gāthā* we find some curious specimens of rare words, e. g., *poso* (66), *leḍḍu* (11) etc.

The achievement of the poet is admirable and his philosophical life is significant, but judged from modern standard, the work is not entirely free from defects. The framework of the story behind it, is a wrong slander imposed against a Bhikkhu. We find in the poet little originality but enough descriptive power and smoothness. Occasionally he becomes artificial, but in the main he is the poet and the philosopher for the investigation of the might of death who obliterates all and the seeker after poetic values and meanings. This single small poem cannot represent the whole of what is the best in Buddhism, but one of the special feature of it is that it cannot be regarded as sectarian.

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A Study on the Ariyapariyesana Sutta

Binayendra Chaudhury

The Ariyapariyesana Sutta, i. e., Discourse on the Noble Quest, the 26th Sutta of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, may be considered as the discourse of the first rate importance as it supplies us certain elements of Buddha's autobiography and fundamental principles of Buddhism. This Sutta is also called the Pāsārāsī Sutta even by the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa. The title 'Pāsārāsī' seems to be no less appropriate when we find towards the end of the Sutta the simile of "a deer of the forest in the toil of a baited trap" (araññako migo baddho pāsārāsīm adhiṃsayeyya) to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas who "indulge in the five pleasures of senses (pañcakāmaguṇā) with avid greed and blind appetite without seeing the perils which dog them and without realising that they afford no refuge".

The Sutta begins with typical phrase "Evaṃ me sutam" which is followed by the description of the occasion when the Lord delivered the discourse to the monks.

The Ariyapariyesana Sutta is a teaching on the noble quest. Two are the choices, as it teaches, of the assembled monks, — either to talk about the doctrine or to preserve a noble silence (sannipātānaṃ dvayaṃ karaṇiyaṃ dhammā vā kathā ariyā vā tuṇhībhāvo). There are two kinds of quests: the noble and the ignoble (ariyā ca pariyesanā anariyā ca pariyesanā). Anariyapariyesanā is the quest of a man who being himself subject to rebirth, decay, death, sorrow and impurity, pursues objects that are equally subject there to and those objects are wives and children, slaves, goats, sheep, fowls and swine, and other domestic animals together with gold and silver coins. If a man becomes attached to them, he is sure to go after birth, decay and death¹.

But the noble quest, on the other hand, consists in seeing the peril in things that are subject to rebirth, decay, death, etc., himself being subject thereto and so in pursuing the perfect peace of Nibbāna which is free from rebirth, decay, etc.

The middle portion of the Sutta places before us, in connec-

tion with the noble quest, the life of Buddha in the form of an autobiography. A complete biography of Buddha is not available in the Pali canon. In several Suttas of the *Nikāyas*² and the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, we find partial account of Buddha's biography. All systematic works such as the *Jātaka Nidānakathā*, *Jinacarita*, *Buddhacarita*, *Abhiniskramaṇa Sūtra*, etc. are of later production. But the Ariyapa-riyesana Sutta records in simple language the earliest account of Buddha's early career up to the turning of the Wheel of Law (Dhammacakkapavattana) to the group of five ascetics (Pañcavaggiyā). Here the biography is free from all miracles, while in other Suttas and later works "all kinds of magic powers and absolutely divine qualities are ascribed to Buddha".³

In this Sutta Buddha refers to his own quest after truth as an instance of the noble quest. Buddha states that before his Enlightenment (sambodhi), i. e., during the period of his Bodhisattvahood, he, too, was entangled in ignoble quest. This statement certainly hints to his luxurious life in enjoying sensual pleasures in the company of female attendants in the palace before his renunciation. He grew up to the quite youth with a wealth of coalblack hair untouched by grey and became endowed with all the beauty of early prime (daharo samāno susu-kālakeso bhaddena yobbanena samannāgato paṭhamena vayasā). But when he saw perils in worldly life he decided to renounce it. Despiting the wishes of his parents who wept and lamented, he cut off his handsome hair and beard, put on yellow robes and embraced mendicant's life (akāmakānaṃ mātāpitunnaṃ assumukhānaṃ rudantānaṃ kesamaṣṣuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agāra-smā anagāriyaṃ pabbajji). Here the words "akāmakānaṃ mātāpitunnaṃ assumukhānaṃ rudantānaṃ" refer to the unwillingness of Siddhodana to let his son renounce the worldly life which made the latter leave the palace secretly in midnight.

Thus being a pilgrim in search of the right and in quest of the excellent and incomparable road to peace (anuttaraṃ santivarapadaṃ pariyesaṃāno), he wandered about from teacher to teacher like Arāḷa Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, got instruction under them and mastered their spiritual attainments. But not being satisfied with them, he started for Uruvelā in Magadha and took up his abode in a delightful place having groves and clear-flowing river with fords and amenities, a suitable place for meditation. There he engaged himself in striving to find out the consummate peace and he at last won it. There arose within him "the conviction, the insight, the deliverance, the end of birth and sufferings".

After the Enlightenment Buddha, being entreated by Brahṃa Sahampati, proceeded towards Isipatana in Vārāṇasī to preach his newly achieved doctrine to his five former associates (Pañcavaggiyā Bhikkhū). The conversations between Buddha and the five recluses, refer to Buddha's austere penances sometime before his enlightenment. But realising inefficacy of such austerity he abandoned it and adopted a moderate living.

Now two things are to be noted. One is that it is of the autobiographical record. The portion from Buddha's hesitation to preach his subtle doctrine to the portion of converting the five recluses occurs *verbatim* in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga*. The question, therefore, arises which portion is earlier. Though the *Mahāvagga* comes, chronologically, after the *Majjhimanikāya*, we cannot thereby assume that the former borrowed the portion of the latter. It is safer to assume that it was a stock-passage before the final compilation of the two books which might have quoted the same to serve their respective purpose.

The other thing is that this Sutta clearly proves that long before the time of Buddha, Indian ascetics and seekers after truth attained up to the eighth stage of trances (jhānas and samāpattis)—four belonging to the 'rūpa' state and four to the 'arūpa' state. Gautama attained the ninth state called saññā-vedayita-nirodha-samāpatti and thereby became Buddha, the Enlightened One.

The Ariyapariyesana Sutta supplies us also the facts about the fundamental principles of Buddhism. It is stated that at the end of his noble quest Buddha attained twofold realisations, viz, (1) that of idappaccayatā paṭiccasamuppāda (ihapratyayatā pratityasamutpāda), and (2) that of nibbāna (nirvāṇa). The term 'paṭiccasamuppāda', which is variously interpreted in English by 'causal genesis' or 'law of causation or dependent origination', forms the basic concept of Buddhism revealing unsubstantiality and transitoriness of the phenomenal world. This causal genesis has illustratively been classified in other texts into twelve parts (aṅgas or nidānas), which, in the words of Buddha, are conditioned by ignorance (avijjā) habitual tendencies (saṅkhāra), conditioned by habitual tendencies is consciousness (viññāṇa), conditioned by consciousness is psycho-physicality (nāmarūpa), conditioned by psychophysicality are six sense-spheres (saḷāyatana), conditioned by six sense-spheres is contact (phassa), conditioned by contact is feeling (vedanā), conditioned by feeling is craving (taṇhā), conditioned by craving is grasping (upādāna), condition by grasping is becoming (bhava), conditioned by becoming

sibirth (jāti), conditioned by birth, old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection and despair come into being. Such is the arising of this entire mass of ill. But from the utter fading and stopping of this very ignorance comes the cessation of habitual tendencies, etc.”⁴.

According to the Pali commentator Dhammapāla, the paṭicca-samuppāda or causal genesis represents the true nature of reality (dhamma-sabhāva). Briefly, in the words of Dr. Benimadhab Barua : “Pratītya-samutpāda as the essential nature of reality is characterised in Pāli as the elementary *datum* of experience, the standing order of becoming (dhammaṭṭhitatā), the way of happening of things (dhammaniyāmatā), suchness, orderliness (tathatā), uncontrariness (avithiḥatā), unotherwiseness (anaññathatā), background of relatedness [idappaccayatā]. It is further characterised in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and other Mahāyāna treatises by such predicates as vacuity [śūnyatā], realness [bhūtātā], and actuality [satyatā]⁵.

The Ariyapariyesana Sutta touches upon the both positive and negative aspects of the conception of Nibbāna, the goal of the noble quest. The underlying note resonant in this Sutta is the search after Nibbāna which is free from rebirth, decay, disease, death and impurity [ajātaṃ, ajaram, avyādhim, amaraṃ, asaṅkiliṭṭhaṃ]. Nibbāna, on the other hand, is the perfect peace [yogakkhemaṃ], excellent road to serenity [anuttaram santivarapadam], tranquilization of all disposition [sabba-saṅkhāra-samatha], removal of all worldly ties [sabbupadhipaṭinissaggo], extirpation of craving [taṇhakkhayo], passionlessness [virāgo], and cessation of suffering [nirodho].

Notes and References :

1. attanā jātidhammo samāno jātidhammanneva pariyesati . . . vyādhidhammo . . . maraṇadhammo sankilesadhammanneva pariyesati.
2. The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the *Dīghanikāya* ; Suttas Nos 26, 36, 85, 100 of the *Majjhimanikāya*.
3. M. Winternitze *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 51.
4. *Vinayapīṭaka*, Vol. I, p. 1
5. *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 175

A note on Mahāyana Buddhism and the Bodhicaryāvatāra

Dr. Heramba Chatterjee Sastri

The Indians rightly speak of *Darsana* as the foundation of all the sciences of learning (sarvavidyāpratiṣṭhā) or as the lamp of all the *Śāstras* (pradīpaḥ sarvaśāstrāṇām). It is of interest to note that no religious movement in India has ever come to existence without developing as its support a philosophical context. Religion and philosophy have supplemented each other to a considerable extent. India is fortunate that several religious teachers made their appearance on this soil ultimately enriching philosophical speculations. The holy *Gītā* lends support to the concept that at the junctures of calamitous states of society, when *Dharma* tends to be polluted and vitiated, the need of a religious reformer is strongly felt.¹ The practical application of this prophesy is marked in the religious history of India. The Indian history testifies to the fact that in different periods of history, when the traditionally accepted beliefs were deemed inadequate, sometimes false and could not be adjusted with the changed states of the society, ages grew out of patience with them, the insight of a new teacher—Buddha, Vyāsa or Śaṅkara supervened stirring the depths of spiritual life. The speculative tendency of the Indian mind also was convinced of the fact that truth is many-sided and that different views contained different aspects of truth which none could express fully. The Indian philosophers were therefore tolerant and receptive of other's views and sometimes they were fearless of accepting even opposite and dangerous doctrines so long as they were backed by sufficient reasoning. They did not allow any tradition to die if they could help it, one jot or tittle of the tradition, but would try to accommodate it all. Buddhism represents such a case of tolerated treatment specially in its aspect of the development of its Mahāyānic character.

It is quite evident and natural that several changes in matter and form were effected in Buddhism since its inception. After the Great Decease of Buddha several councils and conventions were held

to consider the question principally of the genuineness of the teachings of the Founder, as also the rigours of asceticism. It is in the fitness of things that the orthodox followers had a tendency of clinging to the ritualistic practices of the *Vinaya*, while the progressive party, the *Mahāsaṅghikas* with a sufficiently strong following had their different approaches to the question and as per the description of the deliberations recorded in the *Dīpavaṃsa*¹ these Buddhists professing progressive ideas overturned religion, broke the doctrines of the scriptures and distorted the sayings and destroyed the spirit of the teachings of the Lord. These progressive thinkers gave a new turn to the older concepts and developed it in a mystical, theological and devotional manner. Claiming superiority in their concepts, these followers of Buddha egoistically, of course, not without reason, took pride in designating their doctrines as of greater value (*mahāyāna*), indicating thereby that the earlier orthodox doctrines were comparatively narrow and individualistic in their outlook (*hīnayāna*). It may be likened to the statement of Ibsen—‘There are actually moments when the whole history of the world appears to me like one great shipwreck, and the only important thing seems to be to save oneself’. Radhakrishnan in his own inimitable way presents the difference between the two schools of thought in the following way :

‘Philosophical phenomenalism and religious polytheism with monachial tendencies are what we have here. The Hīnayāna is a colourless religion denying God in doctrine, though allowing worship of Buddha in practice. There is devotion or bhakti, which implies a living God.’

In continuation it has been held that, ‘it (Hīnayāna) prefers negative and philosophically strict definitions, while the Mahāyāna aims at positive and religious expressions. The former represents more faithfully the historical traditions of Buddha, while the latter aspires to please the masses by promising to fulfil the needs of the heart. By its abstract and negative tendencies the Hīnayāna became the incarnation of dead thought and the imprisonment of spirit. It gives us neither a warm faith for which we live nor a real ideal for which to work.’³

Before delineating the detailed characteristics of the Mahāyāna doctrine it is deemed proper to state that the expression *Yāna*^{3a} (vehicle) stands for the same idea as is conveyed by the supramundane path (*lokottaramārga*), the path leading to *Nirvāṇa*. Mahāyāna, the Great Vehicle, is comprised of : (a) the practice of virtues (*pāramitās*)^{3b} of a Bodhisattva or future Buddha (*Bodhisattvayāna*) ; by it

one becomes a Buddha (*Buddhayāna*) : (b) wisdom or knowledge of vacuity (*prajñāyāna* or *jñānamārga*) ; (c) devotion (*bhaktimārg*). Texts professing to be affiliated to *Mahāyāna* give expression to the view that through the primitive method of the *Theravādins* (*Hinayānists*) it is hardly possible to attain *Nirvāṇa*. What is needed is the practice of the virtues and acquisitions of all the knowledge of the Buddhas and entering into the career of a future Buddha (*Bodhisattvacaryā*) for hundreds of years. It is therefore deemed desirable to designate it as vehicle for future Buddhas (*Bodhisattvayāna*) or *Pāramitānaya*, method of perfect virtues, charity, patience etc. The second feature that impresses one regarding the *Mahāyāna* is adherence to the doctrine of void or vacuity (*Sūnyatāvāda*). Devotion and worship to the *Buddhas* and the *Bodhisattvas*⁴ constitute the third important characteristic of *Mahāyāna*.⁵

It should not at all be thought that the doctrine passing by the name of *Mahāyāna* maintains no contact with the original *Buddhavacana* contained in the Pāli texts. The fact is completely otherwise. The Great Compassionate Being, Lord Buddha as he was, definitely had his mind filled with the philosophical outlook that is elaborated and given final shape by the *Mahāyānists* at a later stage.^{5*}

It is possible to point out from a study of the Pāli texts that *Mahāyānic* ideas in some form or other were in some of the *Nikāyas*. Thus in the *Majjhima Nikāya* in the *Mūlaparyā-sutta* by way of making a comparison with the outlook of the common people and that of the *Tathāgata* it has been held that he does not regard earth as earth : paṭhavim paṭhavim na maññati) and does not establish any relationship with them. What is intended is that earth, water etc. are mere worldly phenomena with a fleeting existence having no unchangeable reality. Again in the *Alagaddupamā-sutta* (water-snake simile) (*Majjhimā Nikāya*, Sutta No. 22) it has been taught by *Tathāgata* that all *dhammas* as also all meditational practices of the monks are to be treated as mere aids like a raft through which a person may cross the stream and after crossing the shore, throws away the raft. In the *Aggi-vacchagotta sutta* (*Majjhima Nikāya*, No ; 72) Buddha instituted a simile of a burning faggot stating thereby that fire becomes extinguished as soon as faggot is burnt and exhausted. Where does then fire go ? Similarly *Tathāgata* is composed of the *Samkhāras* (constituents of the worldly being) after dissolution of which he disappears in the unknown, unknowable and unfathomable (*anānuvejjo*) infinity. In the *Kevaddha sutta* it has been observed that all the elements are comprehended by an Arhat through the

knowledge of the law of causation (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) as devoid of substantiality (*sabbe dhammā anattā*) and this is essential for the attainment of Nibbāṇa. (*Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 299). In the *Samyutta Nikāya* (II. 267) and *Anguttara Nikāyas* (1. 112) we come across statements that the Suttantas delivered by the *Tathāgata* are deep, supramundane and closely connected with *Sūnyatā*. (Ye suttantā Tathāgatabhāsītā gambhīrā lokottarā suññatāpaṭisaṃyuttā).

In course of a deliberation regarding the nature of the *asaṃkhata* (unconstituted) the Lord by way of example utilised several similes which are indicative of the ideas similar to those of the Mahāyānic ones. Thus it has been held that the bubbles seen on earth during autumnal rains are useless and unsubstantial. Same is the case with the mass of foams in the Ganges. The material constituents in the same form are unsubstantial (*Samyutta Nikāya*, III. pp. 140-2). Very interestingly the *Samyutta Nikāya* (II. p. 17) records a deliberation of the Lord to the effect that leaving aside the two extreme views the *Tathāgata*^{5a} teaches that the middle course should be adopted (*majjhime Tathāgato deseti*) :

Sabbaṃ atthīti kho Kaccāyana ayaṃ eko anto ; sabbaṃ natthīti
dutiyo anto. Ete te Kaccāyana ubho ante anupagamma majjh-
ena Tathāgato dhammaṃ deseti.

Nāgārjuna, the greatest propounder of the *Sūnyatā* doctrine of the Mahāyāna school, in his *Mūlamadhyamakāśāstra* refers to this indicating thereby that the Mahāyānic concept of *Sūnyatā* has its root in the Pāli texts themselves. The verse is :

Kātyāyanāvavāde cāstīti nāstīti cobhayam /
Pratiśiddham bhagavatā bhāvābhāvavibhāvinā// M.S. XV, 7.

In this background of Mahāyānism it will be the task of this paper to point out some of the Mahāyānic concepts as recorded in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*⁶ of Śāntideva. The first chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* has the appellation as *Bodhicittānusāsa*. In the fifth verse of the chapter it has been held that people do not always have inclination towards the performance of acts that are meritorious :

Rātrau yathā meghaghanāndhakāre vidyut kṣaṇaṃ darśayati prakāśam /
Buddhānubhāvena tathā kadācīl lokasya puṇyeṣu matiḥ kṣaṇaṃ syāt//1.5

The attainment of *Bodhicitta* is backed by the purpose of crossing the border of miseries of the world ; doing away with the distresses of the beings and of enjoying heavenly pleasures in abundance : (1. 8) :

Bhavaduḥkhaśatāni tartukāmaiḥ api sattvavyasanāni hartukāmaiḥ /
Bahusaukhyasatāni bhoktukāmaiḥ na vimocyam hi sadāiva bodhicittam//

It is to be maintained as a very precious treasure (*sudṛḍham gr̥hṇata bodhicittaratnam*). *Bodhicitta* has been classified here under two heads, namely, *Bodhiprañidhicitta* and *Bodhiprasthānacitta* (1. 15), the nature of which along with difference has been delineated in the following verse :

Gantukāmasya gantuś ca yathā bhedaḥ pratiyate /
Tathā bhedo' nayoṛ jñeyo yathāsaṃkhyena paṇḍitaiḥ // (1. 16)

One having the *Bodhicitta* has been reckoned as the best friend of the human beings :

Kuto vā tādr̥śaṃ mitraṃ puṇyaṃ vā tādr̥śaṃ kutaḥ. (1.30)

The second chapter under the heading *Pāpadesanā* introduces us to another very important variety of the Mahāyānic doctrine. May be, through the influence of Hinduism, the concept of devotion or *Bhakti* has been introduced in Buddhism. Thus, almost exactly in the spirit of the modes of worship with all the technicalities as are noticed in the Hindu mode of worship of the deities, herein also we come across several verses in which worship of the Caityas and *Vihāras* as also of *Bodhisattvas* has been emphasised. Thus it has been contended :

Sarvasaddharmaratneṣu caityeṣu pratimāsu ca /
Puṣparatnādivarṣāś ca pravartantāṃ niranantaram // II. 21.

Again in the same strain it is stated :

Adyaiva śaraṇaṃ yāmi jagannāthān mahābalān /
Jagadrakṣārtham udyuktān sarvatrāsaharān jinān // II. 48.

The entire text is full of passages wherein the Mahāyānic concept of removal of universal distress finds expression as, in :

Evaṃ sarvam idaṃ kṛtvā yaṃ mayāsāditam śubham /
Tena syāṃ sarvasattvānāṃ sarvaduḥkhaḥpraśāntikṛt // III. 6.

Śāntideva is clear and categorical in presenting the Mahāyānic ideal that a true Mahāyāni should be ever-ready to extend helping hand to any and every one that needs assistance :

Anāthānāṃ aham nāthaḥ sārthavāhaś ca yāyinām /
Pārepsūnām ca naubhūtaḥ setuḥ saṃkrama eva ca //
Dīpārthinām aham dīpaḥ śayyā śayyārthinām aham /
Dāsārthinām aham dāso bhaveyam sarvadehinām // III. 18.

In short, the Mahāyānist should be like a wish-yielding tree to the distressed beings of the world :

Bhaveyam kalpavṛkṣaś ca kāmadhenuś ca dehinām. III. 19.

The importance of a *Kalyāṇamitra* (explained by Prajñākaramati as : *kalyāṇakarmaṇi abhyudayaniḥśreyasaprāptilakṣaṇe mitram asādhāraṇo bandhuḥ*) has been stressed in the fifth chapter of the text thus :

Šadā kalyāṇamitraṃ ca jīvitārthe'pi na tyajet /
Bodhisattvavratadharaṃ *mahāyanārthakovidam* // V. 102.

Sāntideva makes reference to *Ākāśagarbhasūtra* (*ākāśagarbhasūtra* ca mūlāpattir nirūpayet : V. 104) and Prajñākara Gupta in his commentary has given details about them in the following way : 'Ādikarmikāṇāṃ *mahāyānasamprasthitānāṃ* kulaputrāṇāṃ kuladuhitṛṇāṃ ca aṣṭau mūlāpattāḥ.....' on V. 106.

The Mahāyānist is ever ready to render assistance and welfare even to those who have done great harm to them :

Mahāpakāriṣv api tena sarvaṃ
kalyāṇam evācaraṇīyam eṣu / VI. 120.

The influence of the Hindu cult of devotion may clearly be marked in the statement recorded in the Sixth chapter thus :

Ārādhānāya tathāgatānāṃ sarvātmanā dāsyam upaimi loke /
Kurvantu me mūrdhni padaṃ janaughā vighnantu vā tuṣyatū
lokanāthaḥ // VI. 125.

Leaving aside the concept of self and non-self the Mahāyānist is to take upon himself the obligation of removal of miseries and distresses of others. Accordingly it has been stated :

Mayānyaduḥkhaṃ hantavyaṃ duḥkhatvād anyaduḥkhavat /
Anugrāhyā mayānye'pi sattvatvād ātmasattvavat // VIII. 94.

Again, Tasmāt svaduḥkhaśāntyartham paraduḥkhaśamāya ca /
Dadāmy anyebhya ātmānaṃ parān gṛhṇāmi cātmaṃvat // VIII.136

From doctrinal point of view the ninth chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* stands to be the best in as much as herein the two *Satyas* (*Samvṛtiḥ paramārthaś ca satyadvayaṃ idaṃ matam* : IX. 2) as also the concept of *Sūnyatā* along with its importance has been delineated. Thus it has been stated :

Sūnyatāvāsanādhyānādā hiyate bhāvavāsanā / IX. 33

After a long, interesting and informative discussion the conclusion that has been arrived at is that *sūnyatā* is to be aimed at :

Tasmān nirvikitsena bhāvanīyaiva sūnyatā. IX. 54.

These are some of the points that have been discussed in detail in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and as a text of *Mahāyāna* this has no parallel in Buddhist history.

Notes and References :

1. Yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati bhārata /
Abhyutthāṇam adharmasya tadātmānaṃ srjāmy aham //

Partrāṇāya sādhanam vināśāya ca duṣkṛtām /
Dharmasamsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge // Gīta, IV. 7-8.

3. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, I (Ninth Impression, London, 1971), pp. 588-9.
- 3a. For a systematic treatment of the different meanings of the term 'yāna' vide, Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine, P. 321, f.n. 22
- 3b. *Pāramitās* have been elaborately discussed in the same book, in pages, 165-269.
4. For detailed information relating to *Bodhisattva* doctrine vide the informative article in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Vide also Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine Buddhist in Sanskrit Literature, (Delhi, 1978, first Published-1932).
5. Vide in this context the following verse of the *Sikṣāsamuccaya*, No. 2 :
Duḥkhāntam kartukāmena sukhāntaṃ gantum icchatā /
Sraddhāmulam dṛḍhikṛtya bodhau kāryā matir dṛḍhā //
vide also the following verses in the commentary entitled Pañjika by Prajñā-karamati on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva :
Tadvad utpādayāmy eṣa bodhicittam jagaddhite / *** 23.
Andhaḥ saṃsāra kuṭe bhyo yathā ratnam avāpnuyāt /
Tathā kathañcid apy etat bodhicittam mamoditam // 27
Janmamṛtyuvinaśāya jātam etad rasāyanam /
Jagaddāridryaśamanam nidānam idam aksayam // 28
Jagadvyādhipraśamanam bhaiṣajyam idam uttamam /
Bhavādhvabhramanaśrānta jagadvīśramapādapaḥ // 29.
The verses are likely to be parts of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*
For the best and most critical attempt to point out the comparative position and difference between Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, vide,
N. Dutta, Mahāyāna Buddhism (Calcutta, 1973—Revised edition of Aspects of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism.) p. 82-95.
- 5*. Vide A. B. Keith, Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon, (Oxford, 1922, Fourth edition, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 216).
- 5a. For very interesting and informative discussion on the meaning of the term *Tathāgatā* vide Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine. pp. 321-2, f.n. 25.
6. Minayef, Russian scholar, first published the text in the Russian Oriental Journal Zapiski, IV, 1889. Louis de la Vallee Poussin utilised more manuscripts in his text : Bouddhisme, Etudes et Matériaux, Vol. 1, Bruxelles, Académie, and Luzac, London, 1898; he published also text and Pañjikā in Devanāgarī script of the first nine chapters in the Bibliothec Indica, Calcutta, 1902-14. The latest and the best edition of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* is by Prof. P. L. Vaidya, published by the Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research In Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga (1960). It also contains the *Pañjikā* commentary of Prajñākaramati.
7. For informations relating to *Vihāras* vide, D. Barua, Vihāras in ancient India, Calcutta, 1969.

Śrīlāta : A Pre-Vasubandhu Philosopher

Prabal Kumar Sen

The *Abhidharmakośa* (AK) of Vasubandhu usually upholds the tenets of the Kāśmīra-Vaibhāṣika sect¹. The attitude of Vasubandhu is not, however, narrow or partisan. This is evident from the numerous references to the views of rival sects and an impartial discussion of them in *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (AKB), an autocommentary on AK. In AKB, Vasubandhu also records, from time to time, the views of earlier thinkers—though in most cases, he does not mention their names or the schools to which they belonged. The *Abhidharmakośavyākhyāṣphuṭārthā* (AKVS) of Yaśomitra (a commentary on AKB) identifies some of the latter thinkers, among whom Śrīlāta deserves special mention. The fact that Yaśomitra refers to him as 'Bhadanta Śrīlāta' shows that Śrīlāta commanded considerable respect of later Buddhists².

The original works of Śrīlāta are not extant, and Yaśomitra does not mention the sect to which he belonged. The only way of forming an idea about his views and his affiliation is to analyse the references to his views, and the present paper is an humble attempt in this direction. There are, in all, seven references to Śrīlāta in AKB and we shall consider them serially.

(1) AKB 1. 30 deals with the number of *dhātu-s* in *Kāmaloka* and *Rūpaloka*. According to Vaibhāṣikas, all the eighteen *dhātu-s* are present in *Kāmaloka*; while with the exception of smell (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*), gustatory sensation (*ghrāṇavijñāna*), and gustatory sensation (*jihvāvijñāna*), the rest of the *dhātu-s* are present in *Rūpaloka*. Vasubandhu supplies an argument in favour of this view. The creatures of *Rūpaloka* have no desire for 'material food' (*kāḍḍhikārāhāra*), and as such, there is no necessity of 'material food' in *Rūpaloka*. According to Vaibhāṣikas, smell and taste are forms of 'material food', and consequently, one need not postulate the presence of these two *dhātu-s* in *Rūpaloka*. In the absence of smell and taste, olfactory and

gustatory sensations are not possible ; and as such, these two *dhātu-s* are also absent in *Rūpaloka*³.

Such an argument has to take care of a possible objection. Like smell and taste, *Sparṣṭavyadhātu* (a collective name for the four 'great elements' : earth, water, fire and air) is also a form of 'material food'. Thus the arguments for excluding the four *dhātu-s* 'mentioned above from *Rūpaloka* should apply to *Sparṣṭavyadhātu* as well, and the latter should also be excluded from *Rūpaloka*. But in that case, the number of *dhātu-s* present in *Rūpaloka* should be thirteen ; and not fourteen, as maintained by Vasubandhu⁴.

Vasubandhu has recorded two replies to this objection. The first one of them evades the objection by pointing out that while all types of smell and taste are forms of 'material food', there are 'some types of *Sparṣṭavyadhātu* that cannot be treated as 'material food'. Thus, what is true of smell and taste need not be true of *Sparṣṭavyadhātu*, which may very well be present in *Rūpaloka*. The second reply meets the objection in a different manner. It holds that the creatures of *Rūpaloka* are aware of form (*rūpa*) and sound (*śabda*) through *dhyānasamāpatti*, and they are also aware of *Sparṣṭavyadhātu* accompanied by serenity (*praśrabdhi*). Hence, these *dhātu-s* must be present in *Rūpaloka*. Such considerations do not, however, apply to smell and taste, and as such, they have to be excluded from *Rūpaloka*. The exclusion of smell and taste automatically leads to the exclusion of olfactory and gustatory sensations. Yaśomitra has ascribed the second reply to Śrīlāta.⁵

Thus, we find that while Śrīlāta agreed with the Vaibhāṣika view about the number of *dhātu-s* in *Rūpaloka*, his reasons for accepting it were somewhat different from the traditional arguments in its favour⁶.

Vasubandhu does not pass any judgement on the arguments of Śrīlāta. Instead, he goes on to consider whether the Vaibhāṣikas are obliged to exclude the faculties of smell and taste (*ghrāṇendriya* and *jihvendriya*) also from *Rūpaloka*, and thus reduce the number of *dhātu-s* in *Rūpaloka* to twelve. In this connection, Yaśomitra remarks that Vasubandhu has not endorsed the views of Śrīlāta⁷.

(2) AKB 11.22 puts forward some arguments in support of the Vaibhāṣika view that every sense-object contains atoms of the four 'great elements', viz. earth, water, fire and air. Earth atoms are hard, and they can support other things. Water atoms are humid, and they produce cohesion. Fire atoms are hot, and they serve to ripen

other things. Air atoms are mobile, and they cause expansion. The view that all these four kinds of atoms are present in every sense-object seems to be queer. Why, one may ask, are not the sense-objects all alike? Does not the diversity of sense-objects prove the opposite of the Vaibhāṣika's claim? In reply, Vasubandhu points out that while all sense-objects contain four types of atoms, the latter are not present in the former in equal proportions, and only the properties and function of the predominant element are perceived by us. Hence the alleged absurd consequence is quite unwarranted⁸.

After meeting the preliminary objection, Vasubandhu proceeds to record two arguments in support of the Vaibhāṣika view mentioned above. The first one points out that this view alone can satisfactorily account for the physical properties of sense-objects. A piece of wood is regarded as earth, but it also contains water-atoms. Otherwise, there would have been no cohesion among its constituent parts, and it would have disintegrated like a handful of dust. There is water in a lake, but the water also contains earth-atoms. Otherwise, it would not have supported the boat floating on it. Similarly, the fact that a fruit ripens cannot be explained unless we admit that the fruit contains fire-atoms. Likewise, the fact that creatures move and grow cannot be explained unless we admit that air-atoms are present in the creatures⁹. The second one points out that the presence of water-atoms in iron etc. is proved by the fact that they become fluid when heat is applied to them. When two stones are rubbed with each other, they become hot, and this proves that they contain fire-atoms. Similarly, the varying degrees of coldness in water proves that there are fire-atoms in it—the degree of coldness depending on the paucity of fire-atoms¹⁰. In this connection, Vasubandhu has also recorded a dissenting view, which maintains that every object has a number of potencies, and as such, one need not admit the presence of four kinds of atoms in each sense-object. The presence of various potencies is proved by the fact that *yogins* can turn base metals like iron and copper into gold and silver¹¹.

Vasubandhu has remarked subsequently that the second argument is inconclusive. It assumes that a homogeneous entity cannot possess a property in varying degrees at different times. This, however, is not the case. Sound (*śabda*) and feeling (*vedanā*) are homogeneous, since they do not contain anything else. Yet, the former may have varying degrees of loudness, and the latter may have varying degrees of intensity. Hence, this argument rests on a gratuitous assumption¹². Vasubandhu does not, however, make any

comments about the third argument. Yaśomitra adds in this connection that the second argument has been forwarded by Śrīlāta, while the third argument has been advanced by the Sautrāntikas.¹³

(3) ACB III.27 contains some interesting observations about Dependent Origination (Pratītyasamutpāda), which is equated here with the cycle of rebirth (Bhavacakra). In AK III.19 Vasubandhu says that the cycle of rebirth has no beginning¹⁴. In AK III.20 he says that this cycle of rebirth has twelve links (nidāna, aṅga), the first and the last links being *avidyā* (ignorance) and *jarāmaraṇa* (old age and death) respectively¹⁵. In AKB III.27 Vasubandhu raises an interesting question : if *avidyā* be the first link of the cycle of rebirth, then the latter has a beginning ; and in that case, how can one uphold the claim of AK III.19 that the cycle of rebirth has no beginning ? Against this objection, Vasubandhu argues that *avidyā* is produced, and hence, preceded by 'improper thought' (ayoniśo manaskāra). 'Improper thought', again, is produced by ignorance in a former birth. In this manner, it can be shown that the cycle of rebirth does not begin with ignorance. Vasubandhu has also quoted a scriptural passage in support of his argument¹⁶.

This solution, however, leads to a fresh problem. If we admit 'improper thought' as the cause of ignorance, then we have also to admit that 'improper thought' is an additional link in the cycle of rebirth. But in that case, the number of links in the cycle of rebirth becomes thirteen, and not twelve, as claimed by Vasubandhu in AK III.20. Since the casual connection between 'improper thought' and ignorance is attested by scriptural passages, no Buddhist can afford to deny it. A possible way out is to include 'improper thought' in one of the recognised links in the cycle of rebirth.

AKB III.27 records two opinions as to how such an inclusion might be effected. The first suggestion is that 'improper thought' should be included in attachment (upādāna), which is the ninth link in the cycle of rebirth. The second suggestion is that 'improper thought' should be included in 'contact of sense organs with their respective objects and sensations' (sparśa), which is the sixth link in the cycle of rebirth. According to Yaśomitra, the first suggestion comes from Manorathopādhyāya, while the second one comes from Śrīlāta¹⁷.

Vasubandhu makes short work of the first suggestion. No scriptural evidence or cogent argument can be given for including 'improper thought' in attachment alone. Such an inclusion could be justified if 'improper thought' were a form of attachment, but this is

not the case. Nor can it be suggested that 'improper thought' should be included in nttachment as the former is associated (samprayukta) with the latter, because 'improper thought' is also associated with desire (trṣṇā) and ignorance (avidyā), and if association justifies inclusion, then the former can also be included in any one of the latter links¹⁸.

By contrast, the second suggestion put forward by Śrīlāta is supported by a scriptural passage¹⁹. Moreover, the suggestion stands to reason. *Sparśa* is the cause of feeling (Vedanā) and feeling is the cause of desire. There is a scriptural passage asserting that feeling associated with ignorance produces desire²⁰. In other words, one has to admit the compresence of ignorance and feeling, and this compresence can be assured if 'improper thought', the cause of ignorance, is included in *sparśa*, the cause of feeling²¹. Vasubandhu has discussed how some objections against this view can be refuted, and he does not pass any adverse comment against it. It seems that he was favourably disposed of towards this view.

(4) AKB III.28 contains two alternative derivations of the expression 'pratītyasamutpāda'. These derivations, while yielding the same result, assign different meanings to the expression concerned. Vasubandhu treats this problem in detail, and in view of the importance of 'pratītyasamutpāda' in Buddhism, such a detailed discussion is necessary indeed.

According to the first derivation, the word 'pratītya' is formed by joining the root \sqrt{i} with the preposition *prati*, and then adding the suffix *lyap* to this conglomerate. The root \sqrt{i} means motion (gati), the preposition *prati* means 'reaching' (prāpti), and this the word 'pratītya' means 'having reached' (prāpya). The word 'samutpāda' is formed out of the root \sqrt{pad} associated with the prepositions *sam* and *ut*. The root \sqrt{pad} means existence (sattā), but in association with *sam* and *ut* it means manifestation (prādurbhāva). Thus, 'pratītyasamutpāda' means 'manifestation on reaching (the cause)'²².

The second derivation is somewhat complicated. Here, the preposition *prati* stands for generalisation (vīpsā). The root \sqrt{i} means motion (gati), and by adding the suffix *yāt* to this root, we form the expression 'ītya', which means 'fit to disappear'. The preposition *sam* stands for 'in connection with' (samavāyena). The expression 'utpāda', formed out of the root \sqrt{pad} associated with the preposition *ut*, stands for manifestation. Thus 'pratītyasamutpāda' means 'the

manifestation of all evanescent things in connection with (other entities)²³. Yaśomitra informs us that this explanation was furnished by Śrīlāta²⁴.

This derivation evokes a mixed response from Vasubandhu. He admits that Śrīlāta's way of deriving 'pratītyasamutpāda' is perfectly compatible with expressions like "Pratītyasamutpādaṃ vo bhikṣave deśayiṣyāmi (O monks, I shall teach you pratītyasamutpāda)", since *Pratītyasamutpāda* is a general feature of mundane objects, and the proposition *prati* may be said to signify this generality. Vasubandhu now points out that there are some crucial scriptural passages which contain the word 'pratītya', but one cannot adopt the procedure of Śrīlāta, and yet give a sensible meaning to these passages. Take, for example, the passage—"Cakṣuḥ pratītya rūpāṇi cotpadyate cakṣurvijñānam". Here, we cannot split up 'pratītya' into 'prati' and 'itya', which stand for 'generality' and 'evanescent' respectively, because in that case, the meaning of the sentence would be—"all visual consciousness is evanescent in regard of the faculty of vision and forms", which makes no sense whatsoever. Moreover, this passage pertains to single, particular cases, and hence, there is no scope for generalisation. The passage actually means—"visual consciousness appears in co-ordination with the faculty of vision and forms". But if we derive 'pratītya' in the manner suggested by Vasubandhu, we can do justice to all passages where the word 'pratītya' occurs, whether by itself or as a part of some other expression. It is thus clear that Vasubandhu does not accept the derivation of 'pratītyasamutpāda' as suggested by Śrīlāta²⁵.

(5) In Buddhist scriptures, *Pratītyasamutpāda* is often explained as a general rule of the form : 'this being, that becomes ; from the arising of this, that arises' (asmin satidaṃ bhavati, asyotpādādidamutpadyate). The statement has two parts, and a proper interpretation must show that none of them is redundant. AKB III.28 discusses a number of interpretations, and evaluates them in the light of this criterion. One among these interpretations is that the first part of the statement, (viz. asmin satidaṃ bhavati) emphasizes the fact that the series of effect (kāryasrota) endures so long as the series of cause (kāraṇasrota) endures ; while the second part (viz. asyotpādādisamutpadyate) describes how the effect is produced. In short, the statement describes the duration (sthiti) and production (utpatti) of effects²⁶. Another interpretation follows, wherein it is suggested that the first part indicates the destruction of the cause upon the production of the effect, while the second one is a safeguard against

the wrong notion that the effect can arise even in the absence of the cause²⁷. Yaśomitra remarks in this connection that both these explanations are due to Śrīlāta.²⁸

Vasubandhu has rejected both these explanations. The first one, as we have seen, holds that 'asmin satīdam bhavati' emphasizes the duration of the effect. But a careful examination of relevant scriptural passages shows that *Pratītyasamutpāda* is a doctrine about the emergence and destruction of effects. Thus, an attempt to relate it to the duration of effects is completely unwarranted. Moreover, no plausible interpretation of a scriptural passage describes first the duration, and then the production, of effects. This amounts to an undue reversal of the order that obtains among events²⁹.

The second interpretation fares no better. Here, the portion 'asmin satīdam bhavati' is supposed to mean that the cause ceases to exist when the effect comes into existence. Vasubandhu points out that such an interpretation is not at all convincing. If the task of the first part would have been what Śrīlāta thinks is to be, then instead of starting with 'asmin satīdam bhavati', the passage should have begun as 'asmin satīdam na bhavati' (i. e. this being, that does not exist). Moreover, according to this interpretation, the destruction of the cause follows the emergence of the effect. Had this been the import of the passage concerned, the second part, which deals with the emergence of effects, should have come at the beginning. Otherwise, the passage would again become guilty of unduly reversing the order of events. Besides, as we have noted earlier, *Pratītyasamutpāda* deals with the emergence and destruction of effects: it is not a doctrine about the destruction of the cause³⁰.

(6) A. K. III.30 and AKB thereon contain a detailed discussion of *sparsa*. *Sparsa* is the sixth link of *Pratītyasamutpāda*, and it is the state of a child during the first two or three years of its life, when it is incapable of distinguishing properly between pleasant, unpleasant and neutral feelings³¹.

According to Vasubandhu, *sparsa* is produced by the combination (*sannipāta*) of sense-organs (*indriya*), object (*artha*) and *viññāna*. *Sannipāta* is co-presence or simultaneity. Corresponding to the six kinds of *indriya-s*, six kinds of *artha-s* and six kinds of *viññāna-s* there are six kinds of *sparsa-s*³².

Such an interpretation is quite in order so far as the *sparsa-s* due to external sense-organs are concerned. Such sense-organs

coexist with their respective objects and *viññāna-s*, and thus are capable of combining with each other, whereby *sparsa* is produced³³. *Sparsa* due to *mana-indriya*, however, poses a problem. The objects of *mana-indriya* may be entities that are not present, and as such, the *mana-indriya*, its object and the corresponding *viññāna* may not exist at the same time, and may thus fail to be in combination (*sannipāta*) with each other. Consequently, it is not possible to define *sparsa* as the effect of *sannipāta*³⁴.

At first, Vasubandhu evades this difficulty by maintaining that in the case of *sparsa* produced by *mana-indriya*, *sannipāta* means casual connection (*kāryakāraṇa-bhāva*), and not co-existence. Entities that are not simultaneous may nevertheless be casually connected. Such a connection obtains between *mana-indriya*, its objects and the resultant *viññāna-s* and these, in their turn, can produce *sparsa*. Thus, one may define *sparsa* as a product of *sannipāta*³⁵.

The procedure adopted initially by Vasubandhu is not, however, free from defect. While it solves the problem at hand, it does so only at the cost of ambiguity, because under this interpretation, *sannipāta* in the case of extereal *indriya-s* and in the case of *mana-indriya* cannot be the same thing. We, however, require an interpretation of *sannipāta* that holds good for all types of *indriya-s*. Accordingly, Vasubandhu provides an alternative solution by interpreting *sannipāta* as the relation obtaining between entities that are conducive to the production of a single effect (*ekakāryānnkūlatva*). This serves the purpose at hand, and cannot be faulted in any way whatsoever³⁶.

In this connection, Vasubandhu has noted another solution, where it is maintained that *sannipāta* should be uniformly interpreted as casual connection. Unless we adopt this procedure, one may claim that *sannipāta* obtains between a visual sense-organ, a form and a visual consciousness chosen at random. Such a possibility is precluded if we admit *sannipāta* only between an *indriya*, an *artha* and a *viññāna* that is produced by them. According to Yaśomitra, this solution was provided by Śrīlāta³⁷. It is evident that Śrīlāta's solution also holds good of all kinds of *indriyā-s*. Vasubandhu does not criticize this view, but the very fact that he chose to give a different solution indicates that he did not agree With Śrīlāta.

(7) AK VI.3 and AKB thereon deal with *Duḥkha-Satya* and its implications. Here, Vasubandhu mentions that according to some Buddhists, *Duḥkha-Satya* amounts to denial of pleasure. Yaśomitra ascribes this view to Śrīlāta³⁸.

Śrīlāta denies the existence of pleasure on the basis of *Sūtra* passages like “yatkiñcid veditamidamatra duḥkhasya” (whatever feelings occur in this world pertain to pain), “sukhā vedanā duḥkhato drastavyā” (pleasant feelings should be looked upon as painful), and “duḥkhe sukhāmiti samjñāviparyāsaḥ” (due to erroneous notions, pain is regarded as pleasure)³⁹. He also advances some arguments in favour of his thesis, which are as follows :

- (a) Things that are supposed to produce pleasure or enjoyment produce pain when they are enjoyed in excess (atyupayukta) or enjoyed at improper time (akālopayukta). An excess in the cause of pleasure should lead to intensity of pleasure, and a genuine cause of pleasure should produce pleasure at all times. This, however, is not the case. Since the so-called causes of pleasure produce pain in the long run, they should be treated as causes of pain, the latter becoming manifest in due course (Na ca yuktā sukhahetuvṛddhyā samena vā'nyasmin kāle duḥkhotpattirityādita eva te duḥkhaheavaḥ, na sukhasya. Ante tu tad duḥkham vṛddhi-prāptam vyaktimāpadyate)⁴⁰. Since nothing produces pleasure alone, pleasure is not a fact (sukhahetvavyavasthānāt nāstyeva sukhā vedanā)⁴¹.
- (b) One feels pleasure when some suffering is mitigated or when a suffering is supplanted by another suffering (Duḥkhapratikāre ca sukhābuddherduḥkhavikalpe ca). For example, a thirsty person feels pleasure when his thirst is quenched, and a person carrying a load on his shoulder feels pleasure when the load is shifted to the other shoulder. Since all usages involving the term ‘pleasure’ can be explained in terms of removal of pain or replacement of one kind of pain by another, one need not admit the existence of pleasure⁴².

This view of Śrīlāta has been severely criticised by Vasubandhu. A close examination of the *Sūtra* passages cited by Śrīlāta shows that they should not be taken in their literal sense. In a dialogue, Ānanda asked Buddha as to why the latter, after declaring feelings to be of three kinds (viz. pleasant, unpleasant and neutral), said subsequently that all feelings pertain to pain (Tisra ime vedanā uktā Bhagavatā sukhā duḥkhā'sukhāduḥkhā ca. Uktam cedam Bhagavatā—yatkiñcid veditamidamatra duḥkhasya. Kiṃ nu sandhāya Bhagavatā bhāṣitam—yatkiñcid veditamidamatra duḥkhasya)⁴³. Buddha replied that his statement about the painfulness of all feelings indicates that feelings, being effects, are subject to destruction and change (Saṃskārānityatām Ānanda mayā sandhāya bhāṣitaṃ saṃskā-

ravipariṇāmatāñña, yatkiñcidveditamidamatra duḥkhasaaya)⁴⁴. The word “sandhāya” used in this passage shows that the sentence “yatkiñcid veditam idamatra” etc. has a deeper sense, whence it follows that it should not be understood in its literal sense. This does not, however, hold good of the portion “Tisra ime vedanāh”, because Buddha said nothing to that effect. Vasubandhu goes on to show that the two other passages cited by Śrīlāta cannot also be taken in their literal sense⁴⁵.

Vasubandhu now points out that the three-fold division of feelings in *Sūtra* passages like “Tisra ime vedanāh” etc. cannot be compatible with the denial of pleasure. If the latter were true, no useful purpose would be served by the former. The passages concerned cannot be construed as concessions to popular notions. If all feelings were, as a matter of fact, then such statements could never induce any one to classify feeling into three groups⁴⁶.

The followers of Śrīlāta may suggest that the three-fold division indicates difference in degree, and not difference in kind. Thus, a mild pain (mṛdu duḥkha) may be treated as pleasure, intense pain (adhimātra duḥkha) may be regarded as pain proper, and a pain of intermediate degree, i. e., a pain that is neither mild nor intense (madhya duḥkha) may be treated as neutral feeling. Thus, the three-fold division of feeling in the *Sūtra-s* may yet be compatible with the denial of pleasure⁴⁷.

Such a defence does not appeal to Vasubandhu. Like pain, pleasure also varies in degrees of intensity. In order to be consistent, Śrīlāta or his followers will have to say that mild pain appears as intense pleasure. But the same state of feeling cannot be characterized by mildness and intensity. Identification of pleasure and pain goes against scriptural passages wherein the three *dhyānas* are said to be characterized by pleasure and absence of pain. Moreover, there are scriptural passages (e. g. Yacca sukhendriyaṃ yacca saumanasyaṃ sukhaiṣā vedanā) which unequivocally support the existence of pleasure. Thus, *Sūtra* passages positively indicate the existence of pleasure, and not its denial, as supposed by Śrīlāta.⁴⁸

Vasubandhu now proceeds to reject the independent arguments of Śrīlāta. The first argument of Śrīlāta assumes that the object of pleasure is the *sole* cause of pleasure. But this is not the case, because pleasure depends on several other factors, and when some of these are absent or altered, the object of pleasure may fail to yield pleasure, and may even produce pain. The second argument overlooks the fact that in some cases, pleasure is felt even though no

pain is mitigated, and it also assumes unduly that a feeling of pleasure can never change into a feeling of pain. Thus, both the arguments proceed from wrong premises, and should therefore be rejected.⁴⁹

We thus see that Vasubandhu did not agree with Śrīlāta on any of these disputed points. This suggests that Vasubandhu and Śrīlāta belonged to two rival schools of Buddhism. According to Stcherbatsky, Śrīlāta belonged to the *Hinayāna* tradition.⁵⁰ Poussin and Bhattacharya maintain that Śrīlāta was a Sautrāntika,⁵¹ and this seems quite plausible in view of the fact that Śrīlāta tried to base his doctrines on *Sūtra* passages as far as possible. Till now, we have come across only a single evidence that might go against this view. The account of Śrīlāta's views in AKB II.22 is followed by a rival theory, and this, according to Yaśomitra, belongs to the Sautrāntikas.⁵² Further research may enable us to reach more definite conclusions on this point.

* The author is grateful to Dr. Sukomal Chaudhuri for going through the paper and suggesting some improvements.

Notes and References :

1. "Kāśmīra—Vaibhāṣikanīṣiddhaḥ prāyo mayā'yaṁ kathito'bhidharmaḥ/" AK VIII. 40a, See (5), Vol. IV, p. 1186.
2. In some editions of AKVS, his name is given as Srilābha. Stcherbatsky, Bhattacharya and Chaudhuri have used this name, See (3), pp. 86-87 ; (1), p. 22 ; and (2), p. 87.
3. (6), Vol. I, p. 83.
4. *Idem*.
5. (6), Vol. I, pp. 83-84 ; (7), Vol. I, p. 84.
6. Chaudhuri maintains that according to Srilāta, there are only twelve *dhātu-s* in *Rupaloka*. See (2), p. 87. This, however, is not the proper import of the AKB passage cited by him.
7. "Atrācāryo Bhadantaśrīlātamatanādrīya Vaibhāṣikamatam sāvakāśam dṛṣvā viniścayamārabhate" (17), Vol. I p. 84.
8. (6), Vol. I, p. 181.
9. *Ibid*, p. 182.
10. *Idem* ; (7), Vol. I, p. 182.
11. (6), Vol. I, p. 183 ; (7), Vol. I, p. 183.
12. (6), Vol. I, p. 182 ; (7), Vol. I, p. 182.
13. (7), Vol. I, pp. 182-83.

14. ".....anādi bhavacakrakam". (5), Vol. II, p. 434.
15. "Sa pratityasamutpādo dvādaśaṅgastrīkāṇḍakāḥ / Purvaparāntayordve dve madhye'stau paripuriṇaḥ //". (5), Vol. II, pp 435-36.
"Avidyā saṃskāraśca purvānte, jātirjarāmaraṇaṇcāparānte". (7), Vol. II, p.444.
16. (5), Vol. II, p. 444. Yaśomitra adds that the passage, which occurs in *Saḥetu-sapratyayasānidānasūtra*, runs as—"Avidyā bhikṣavaḥ sahetukā sapratyaya sanidānā. Kaśca bhikṣavo 'vidyāyā hetuḥ, kaḥ pratyayaḥ, kiṃ nidānam ? Avidyāyā bhikṣavo'yonīśo manaskāro hetuḥ, ayonīśo manaskāraḥ pratyayaḥ, ayonīśo manaskāro nidānam". See (7), Vol. II, p. 444.
17. (5), Vol. II, pp. 444-45 ; (7), Vol. II, 444-45.
18. (5), Vol. II, p. 445.
19. The unidentified passage runs as—"Cakṣuḥ pratitya rupāṇi cotpadyate āvilo saṃskāro mohajaḥ". See (6), Vol. II, p. 445.
20. This passage, also unidentified, runs as—"Avidyāsaṃsparśaiḥ veditaṃ prati-tyotpannā tṛṣṇā". See (6), Vol. II, pp. 445-46.
21. ".....sparśakāle bhavannayonīśo manaskāro vedanāsahavartinyā avidyāyāḥ pratyayabhāvena siddha iti". (6), Vol. II, p. 446.
22. "Atha pratityasamutpāda iti kaḥ padārthaḥ ? Pratiḥ prāptyarthaḥ, etiḥ gatyārthaḥ. Upasargavaśena dhātvarthapariṇāmāt prāpyeti yo'rthaḥ so'rthaḥ prāpyeti. Padiḥ sattārthaḥ, samutpurvaḥ prādurbhāvārthaḥ. Tena pratyayaṃ prāpya samudbhavaḥ pratityasamutpādaḥ". (6), Vol. II, p. 453.
23. "pratirvipsārthaḥ, itau sādḥava ityāḥa navasthāyinaḥ, utpurvaḥ padiḥ prādurbhāvārthaḥ, tāṃ tāṃ kāraṇasāmagriṃ prati ityānāṃ samavāyenotpādāḥ pratityasamutpāda iti". (6), Vol. II, p. 456.
24. (7), Vol. II, p. 456.
25. (6), Vol. II, p. 456.
26. "Yāvat kāraṇasrotastāvat kāryasroto bhavati. Kāraṇasyaiva cotpādāt kārya-mutpadyata iti". (6), Vol. II, p. 459.
27. *Idem.*
28. (7), Vol. II, p. 459.
29. " 'Asmin satidaṃ bhavati' iti 'kārye satī kāraṇasya vināśo bhavati' iti. Syān-matam—ahetukaṃ tarhi kāryamutpadyata iti ? Ata āha nāhetukaṃ, yasmā-dasyotpādādidamutpadyata iti". (6), Vol. II, p. 459.
30. *Idem.*
31. (1), p. 254.
32. (5), Vol. II p. 468.
33. *Idem.*
34. *Idem.*
35. *Idem.*
36. *Idem.*
37. (6), Vol. II, p. 470 ; (7), Vol. II, p. 470.
38. (7), Vol. III, p. 880.
39. (6), Vol. III, p. 880.

40. *Idem.*
41. *Idem.*
42. *Idem.*
43. (6), Vol. III, p. 881.
44. *Idem.*
45. (6), Vol. III, pp. 882-83
46. (6), Vol. III, p. 883,
47. (6), Vol. III, pp. 880-84.
48. (6), Vol. III, pp. 884-85.
49. [6], Vol. III, pp. 885-86.
50. [3], p. 86.
51. [4], p. ; [1], p. 22.
52. [6], Vol. 1, p. 183 ; [7], Vol. I, p. 183.

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- 6] Vasubandhu—*Abhidharmakosabhāṣya*, See [5].
- 7] Yasomitra—*Abhidharmakosabhāṣyavyāṣphuṭārthā*, See [5]

Professor Beni Madhab Barua : A Buddhist Scholar

Rabindra Bijay Barua

Sri Beni Madhab Barua, *M. A., D. Lit., Tripiṭakācārya* was not only the first Professor in the Department of Pali of the University of Calcutta but also the first Asian who obtained the degree of Literature (D. Lit.) from the University of London. His valuable contributions to Ancient Indian History and Culture, Indian Art and Architecture, Indus Scripts and Tantric code are recognised by all hands. He was a great Indologist and an outstanding scholar in Buddhalogy. His knowledge and scholarship in the field of Buddhist studies are unparalleled. He was well-versed in Pali, Prakrit, Sanskrit and several other Indian languages and dialects. He had vast knowledge of Greek Philosophy and Western thought. His dedication for the revival of Buddhism in India is immense.

EARLY LIFE & EDUCATION :

Dr. Barua was born in a middle class Buddhist family of Mahamuni Pahartali Village under P. S. Raozan of the District of Chittagong in Bangladesh on 31st December, 1888. He was the eldest son of his parents late Raj Chandra Barua Talukdar and Dhane-swari Barua Talukdar. Dr. Barua's early education started in a village Model school of Chittagong. He took admission into the Model school of his native village at the age of six and after passing the M. E. School Examination he was admitted into the Chittagong Collegiate School in 1902. He passed the Entrance Examination from the same school in 1906.

He graduated from Baharampur Krishnanath College in 1911 with Honours in Pali standing first in order of merit. He took his M. A. degree in Pali from Calcutta University having stood First in the class in 1913.

PROFESSION & PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION :

In 1912 Dr. Barua worked as a temporary Head master of Mahamuni Anglo Pali Institution of his village for some time. He was

temporary teacher of the undergraduate classes of the University of Calcutta in the year 1913-1914. After securing Government Scholarship he left for London in 1914 while the First Great War was going on. He studied Greek Philosophy and modern European philosophy under the guidance of Professor Heath in the London University from 1915-1917. He did research on Buddhism and Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy under the guidance of Professor T. W. Rhys Davids and obtained the D. Lit. degree in Arts from the same University in 1917. Besides he was associated with many learned scholars like Professor F. W. Thamas, L. D. Barnet, Mrs Rhys Davids and a few others. After his return from London he was appointed as lecturer in Post Graduate Classes of the Calcutta University. In 1924 he became Pali Professor and in 1938 he was promoted to the post of a University Professor. In addition to normal duty he used to teach in the Departments of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History and Culture. He was one of the few renowned scholars whom Sir Asutosh Mukherjee invited after opening Post Graduate Classes in the University of Calcutta in 1918. He was honoured with the title "Tripiṭakācārya" by Vidyodaya Parivena of Śrī Laṅkā and elected as a "Fellow of the Royal Asiatic of Bengal."

LITERARY WORKS :

The life of Dr. Barua is full of literary activities. His famous work "A History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy" which was approved by the University of London for the degree of D. Lit. was published by the Calcutta University in 1921. In London he translated into English (later on published) an article on Abhidhamma Philosophy written by the famous scholar Lady Seyyada of Burma. He had a strong desire to continue his research on Buddhist Philosophy after completing his dissertation on Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy. With this end in view he wrote his work "A Prolegomena to a history of Buddhist Philosophy"—monograph which was published by the Calcutta University 1918. After that he wrote a small book on "Ājivika Sects". According to him Buddha was a great philosopher, but unfortunately he could not write any book on Buddhist Philosophy except a few articles' as he diverted his attention towards archaeology, Art and Architecture as well as Asokan inscriptions.

In collaboration with Mr. S. N. Mitra he edited "*Prākṛt Dhammapāda*". Thereafter, he wrote "*Bharhut Inscriptions*" in collaboration with Gangadhar Sinha. Then he wrote "*Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*" in 1926. All

these above mentioned works were published by the University of Calcutta. Later on he wrote "*Gaya and Bodhgaya*" in two volumes, the former was translated into Burmese and German language. He wrote another book "*Inscription of Asoka*"—a critical edition which was not permitted to be published before his demise in 1948. Another book on "*Inscriptions of Asoka*" (with notes and English translation) was published from Calcutta University in 1943. His voluminous work "*Asoka and his Inscriptions*" is a book which removes many doubts and misconceptions of scholars about the history of Buddhism and Asoka. Then he wrote a biography of "*Brahmacārī Kulajānanda and his preceptor Vijay Krishna Goswami*". Among his other books "*Ceylon Lectures*" and "*Philosophy of Progress*" Bengali Translation of *Majjhimā Nikāya* may be mentioned.

IDEAL TEACHER :

Dr. Benimadhab Barua was an ideal teacher. Study and Research were the sole ambition of his life. He knew very well that without knowledge one could not become a teacher. So he always remained busy in learning something for the increase of knowledge. To him teaching was not merely a profession, but it was more than that. It was a part and parcel of his life and thought² His teaching was not limited to the four walls of the class rooms of the University. But its jurisdiction spreads throughout the length and breadth of the society and the state. Whenever he went for some time or whatever he spoke, one could learn something from him. As the flower cannot keep its fragrance within itself but it wafts on the wind and sky so also the knowledge of a learned man spread far and wide.³

A real teacher is adorned with certain specific virtues. In the words of Professor Prakriti Ranjan Barua "Teaching is not a lifeless stereotyped juggling of words. The spirit of it is to inspire and stimulate the insatiable urge for the acquisition of knowledge among the students". This urge for knowledge, not only awakens the heart of the teacher himself but in his turn also inspires others who come in touch with him. Just as the lamp diffuses light all around after sacrificing its very existence so also an ideal teacher without showing any vanity of his knowledge enkindles the urge for learning among the students. He was not anxious to instruct students as superior master but instil in them an irresistible urge for the acquisition of knowledge. It can be said in English terminology that Dr. Barua was an 'inspired and inspiring' teacher just as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle of ancient Greece, or famous teachers like Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa, Vasubandhu, Nāgārjuna, Dharmapāla, Dīpaṅkar Śrī jñān Atish and

the like. Such kind of teachers and teaching profession cannot be considered as a profession but a sacred duty. This was the ideal of a real saint or monk of ancient India. For this reason his teaching was not confined within the four walls of the University.⁴

His residence was always open to all types of people. Gatherings of people in the drawing rooms every morning and evening was almost a regular feature. The students of Buddhistic studies were not the only members of these gatherings. As a matter of fact, each gathering was a universal one. People of all walks of life irrespective of colour and creed and shades of opinion were attracted by his erudition, philanthropy and magnetic personality. He was the central speaker. Every one was charmed by and engrossed in his speech. No body seemed to feel tired and disturbed by his discussions. Such was the style of his teaching. A free mind without vanity and inquisitiveness and urge for learning are complementary to each other. These two traits of a learned man were present in Dr. Barua's character.⁵

He was out and out a scholar. But he had no pride about his scholarship. The maxim—learning begets politeness (*vidyā dadati vinayam*) really befits him. No one can say that he uttered a single word expressive of his vanity for wisdom. There is no record of any arrogant manifestation on his part anywhere about his learning and knowledge. Everybody loved him due to his simple and detached life.

According to some of his colleagues Dr. Barua as a teacher was a failure, because, in course of his class lectures he did not follow the syllabi prescribed by the University. As a matter of fact this is to some extent true. He never tried to teach students according to the prescribed syllabi. Instead of confining his discussions to the prescribed syllabi he often used to quote references on various subjects in order to show the link and relationship between them. He possessed vast knowledge about comparative texts of different subjects. He could spend hours after hours with the students and colleagues in discussing an important topic.⁶ He had no other hobby besides study, research and teaching students. He felt extreme satisfaction if his students made progress in learning. Dr. Barua was loved by all students irrespective of castes and creeds. Many people knew his scholarship but few persons knew what a kind and broad heart he had. Students, friends, colleagues and most of his relatives loved him because of his simplicity and generosity. Petty worldly affairs or occasional disputes were never allowed to stand in the

way of his inherent love towards his relatives and friends. One single instance will testify how Dr. Barua was loved and held in high esteem by all around him. During the time of Hindu-Muslim riot in 1946, he was saved with his family by his neighbours.⁷

He used to consider his students as members of his family. He was always ready to help them in various ways to the best of his capacity. It was his rare qualities which made him admit the success of his students without any prejudice or reservation. He never felt envious of his students. In the word of Dr. P. C. Sen, "the best quality of a teacher is (the power) to admit the achievement of students Dr. Barua possessed such kind of magnanimity of heart. I have never met any teacher like Dr. Barua who recognised his students as equal to him in knowledge and who permits students to argue with him without any reservation. As a matter of fact, he would not teach students just as an ordinary teacher. His class from the very beginning turned into a meeting place for discussion and debate and these (type of discussion and debate) continued throughout the year. The purpose of education would be best served by seminar discussion."⁸

PHILOSOPHER

Dr. Barua was a born philosopher. He had full of inquisitiveness. It has already been mentioned that Dr. Barua was a lover of knowledge. He was always thoughtful about the mystery of life and nature. Every day and every hour questions after questions and problems after problems crowded his mind.⁹ He tried to find out the solution of them. He approached each and every one to find out solution and answer without considering their qualifications and fitness. As a matter of fact he himself solved those problems.

After seeing him busy with himself like this, one would easily take him mad. Really he was to some extent absent-minded and mad, but he was mad with his own ideas and notions (bhāver pāgal). There is no doubt that two things, viz, wisdom and wit side by side and coupled with each other are rare in this world. Earnestness and thirst for knowledge noticed in him are really uncommon and unparalleled. Those who have seen him even once must have realised his greatness.

According to Emerson 'great men scarcely knew how they dress and how they dine.' If it is true that indifference (towards food and cloth) is the sign of greatness, surely, Dr. Barua was a great philosopher.¹⁰ Not only in food and dress but also in all matters of

worldly life he was detached. He used to wear western dress. There is no doubt that he often used to buy expensive cloth for making suit but he seemed to be hardly mindful whether that suited him or not. He never looked at it. Sometimes he used to attend social gathering with our native dress (jātiya poṣāk : dhuti and cādar). Actually he seemed not particular about how and what people thought of him.

He was a dedicated soul. There is no doubt that he was to some extent egoist in nature, but his egoism did rarely hurt any one. He believed in transcendental knowledge. According to him knowledge cannot be acquired without strenuous study and research. It is the spirit of dedication that can grasp the transcendental knowledge through strenuous efforts and earnest will. In his own words, "the scope of human understanding was sought to be widened by inunciating a new principle of toleration, insisting on the careful study of all traditions and appreciation of different standpoints with a view to being well informed and helping each other to grow in essential matters."¹¹

To many persons and to even some of his learned colleagues Dr. Barua was nothing but an absent-minded scholar. In his personal life as well as professional career he acted in such a way that a sensible and conscious person could not take him to be a normal man¹². The term 'Pāgal' or mad is used in two senses in our terminology. Firstly, it is used for a man of respect and secondly for man of disrespect. In the case of Dr. Barua it was never used in sense of disrespect. It was always mixed with love and admiration, sincere affection and a regard for him. Whom do we call a 'Pāgal'? When we say 'āpanār bhalo o pāgale bujhe' i. e. even a mad person understands his own good. In the life of Dr. Barua whether as a teacher, or as a scholar, or as a person he cared little for his personal interest. He did not know how to work for the personal gain. For that reason he had to suffer a lot. In the words of Dr. Sasibhushan Dasgupta "he was quite ignorant about his selfish motive. He did not care for money, riches, property, prestige, name and fame; whether it was money, learning, intellect or physical strength—he did not hesitate to sacrifice for the benefit of others; it was his real nature."¹³

In spite of his earnest will for acquiring knowledge he never forgot his duties towards his people and society. He was a lover of mankind. He always tried to help others whenever he was required to do so. He would not neglect the social work for the sake of mere learning and culture¹⁴. He spent a lot of time, energy & also money for the sake of upgrading the down-trodden people irrespective of castes

and creeds. On a number of occasions he had to face lot of financial troubles in order to do thankless job. It is said that in doing so once he was about to stake his everything in the hands of some unscrupulous persons. He was a very kind hearted man. He loved all creatures. He was endowed with the great ideals of Buddha Śākyamuni. He did not distinguish between rich and poor, educated and uneducated, wise and foolish. He was a friend to all type of people. In a word he was a lover of all beings. In deed he was out and out a Buddhist in the true sense of the term.

A philosopher may be judged mainly in two ways : firstly, he may be judged by what great work he had done for others and secondly by his character and achievement. When judged from these points of view Dr. Barua was never selfish in social outlook. He hated the very idea of selfishness. He was noble, kind-hearted, generous, active and painstaking gentleman. He knew no meanness. He was following the ideals of Buddha. He firmly believed that 'Buddhism may be judged both as a philosophy and as a religion and even as a form of mysticism, with its negative and positive sides. It has a distinct message of rationality, tolerance, concord and hope for the modern world which is completely gone out of joint and stands exhausted of its resources, spiritual vigour and political wisdom' ¹⁵

BUDDHIST REVIVAL

Dr. Barua played an important role for the revival of Buddhism in India. There is no doubt that revival of Buddhism began throughout the world after the renaissance in Europe. In India there was no exception. Buddhism was forgotten as a religion from the thirteenth century down to the beginning of the nineteenth century A. D. Except a few surviving Buddhists here and there Indians as a whole had almost forgotten their glorious heritage. Thanks are due to the scholars, archaeologists and explorers who earnestly worked to bring to light the glorious contribution of Buddha and Buddhism to Indian thought, culture and civilization. Among those scholars Dr. Barua was one. At the beginning there were some scholars who due to their pre-conceived notion could not understand the true import of the Buddhist religion and thought. So they often understood Buddha and began to explain him in a different manner. As a born Buddhist Dr. Barua was free from such pre-conceived notion. So, he had the advantage of understanding Buddhism in the proper sense of the term. This helped him a great deal in his study and research in Buddhism.

According to some scholars Dr. Barua had not done any research in Buddhism. He got his D. Lit degree not in Buddhism but in Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy. And in later period also he worked on ancient Indian history and not on Buddhism. For that reason some scholars are of opinion that he worked and did his research with some ulterior motives. The allegation is not fully correct. A man can not work without any motive behind. Whatever motive might have been behind the research of Dr. Barua it served our purpose. It created a fertile ground for the revival of Buddhism in India. The intellectuals were very much benefitted by his scholastic writings. He dispelled through his scholarly writings many misunderstandings regarding ancient Indian history and culture. He clearly pointed out that the Buddhist culture and civilisation began at Bodhgaya. His famous work "*Gaya and Bodhgaya*", the birth place of Buddha's enlightenment is mainly based on this concept. He proved that Buddha Gaya was not only the birth place of Buddhism but also a central place of Buddhist culture and civilization. From this place sublime teachings of Gautama Buddha spread throughout the world.

During early part of his career there was a controversy among scholars regarding the emperor Asoka's place in Indian history. He wrote a few books on Asoka and his kingdom whereby he firmly asserted and proved that Asoka was not only a Buddhist ruler but also the greatest of the emperors ever produced in Indo-Bangladesh sub-continent. From the above discussion, it may be said that as a result of his writings the revival of Buddhism was quickened. His works formed the firm foundation of Pali and Buddhist studies. The learned thinkers of India realised the need of the sublime teachings of Gautama Buddha for the greater interest of the people of India as a whole.

Notes and References :

1. Some of these articles have recently published in a book "Studies in Buddhism" edited by Dr. B.N. Chowdhury of Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1974. The names of a few of these articles and lectures are : Buddha's Greatness and Role, Buddhism as Buddha's Personal Religion, Buddhism as an Institutional Religion, Buddha's Doctrine of the Mean, Role of Buddhism in Indian Life and Thought etc.
2. Mahendra Kumar Dutt : *Ratnagarbha Caṭṭagrām*, Park Circus, Calcutta 1974, P. 40.
3. As if it is that musk-deer as described by poet,—“Pāgal haiyā vane vane phiri, āpan gandhe mama kasturi mṛga-sama”. Musk-deer is not only mad with the

fragrance of its musk which pervades throughout the forest-jungles. There is no conscious attempt of self-expression behind the teacher's urge to teach. It is free from any kind of pride, vanity, selfishness and arrogance. It is mere expression of intention for doing good to others—expression of goodness for the benefit of others.

4. *Jagajyoti*, Vol. III., No. 1., 2496 B. E. (1359 Sal), P. 26.

5. *Ibid*, P. 25.

6 *Jagajyoti*, Vol. III, No 1, PP. 25-30.

7. At that time Dr. Barua was living at Gorachand Street in Calcutta which was a place densely populated by Muslim butchers (kasai), horse riders (Garoan), betel & biri traders and the like. They not only saved his life but also supplied him with his Thāmāk (native tobacco smoking) which was his favourite smoking. It was not the scholar but the compassionate Benimadhab who was saved at that critical hours of life.

8. *Ibid*, PP. 22-25.

9. *Ibid*, P. 27.

10. Prof. H. L. Sengupta once said in a meeting, "There are three kinds of food according to Buddhist point of view, viz., Kabalinkāra āhāra, manasañcetanā āhāra and Viññāna āhāra and Dr. Barua was indifferent to Kabalinkāra Ahāra and practically lived on Mana sañcetanā and Viññāna Ahāra.

11. *The Mahābodhi*, Vol. 55, Nos. 5-6, 1957, P. 116.

12. *Jagajyoti*, Vol. III, No. 1, 2496 B. E. (1359 Sal), P. 26.

13. *Jagajyoti*, Vol. III, No. 1, P. 19.

14. In his laiture hours of his study and research he was associated with so many philanthropic and social organizations. The most important of them are as follows : He was the founder member of Chittagong urban society, president and life member of the Chittagong Union ; President Chatra Srirampur Co-operative Society. One of the director of Bank of Commerce ; Vice-President, Widow marriage Association, Hindu Satker Samiti, founder member and Supervisory Secretary, Chittagong Central Relief Committee ; Vice-President, Burma Evacuees Association ; President, Burma Evacuee Aid, Member, Hindu Evacuees reception Committee ; General Secretary, Yogendra Rupasibala Trust Board ; member, Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, Mahabodhi Society, Simhala Vidyalankara Parivena (Executive Committee), founder and Vice-President, Iran Society : President, Executive Committee of the Calcutta Bharati Vidyalaya etc.

15. *The Mahābodhi*, Vol. 55, Nos. 5-6, 1967, P. 119.

Historical Importance of the Life and works of Rāmacandra Kavibhārati

Dipak K. Barua

Life :

Rāmacandra Bhāratīn, *alias* Candra Bhāratīn, was born in a Brāhmāna family the Kātāyana Gotra at a Village called Viravati in Gauḍa, the ruins of which lie at a distance of about ten miles from Malda in West Bengal, one of the States of India.¹ He was the son of Gaṇapati and Devī and his other two brothers were Halāyudha and Aṅgīrasa. Rāmacandra grew up as a devotee of Viṣṇu. Unfortunately very little is known about his life. But it is known that as he was brought up, he became famous as one well versed in logic, grammar, rhetoric, drama, mythology, astronomy, epics, metres and other sciences. Ultimately leaving his home-country he moved to Sri Lanka where he was converted to Buddhism, which was rapidly disappearing during his time from here

About Rāmacandra's date M. Winternitz remarked that "Rāmacandra Kavibhārati, a Brahman of Bengal, came to Ceylon under King Parākramabāhu (about 1245 A. D.) and was converted to Buddhism".² Hence according to this statement Rāmacandra came over to Sri Lanka during the reign of Parākramabāhu II. R. C. Majumdar and D. C. Ganguly also noted, "He (Rāmacandra) went to Ceylon during the reign of Parākramabāhu II (C. 1225-60 A. D.)", because they thought that the date of composition mentioned in one of the texts of Rāmacandra³ "as Buddha Era 1999, obviously a misprint for 1799".⁴ On the other hand, G. P. Nalalasekera thought that Rāmacandra Kavibhārati visited Sri Lanka during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (*circa* A. C. 1412-1467) who "was the last great monarch of a single Lanka".⁵ I myself also consider that Rāmacan-

dra's time of visit to Śrī Lanka fell between A. C. 1412 and 1467 and think that the Buddha Era 1999 noted in that text of Rāmacandra is not "a misprint for 1799".

It appears that when Rāmacandra went to Sri Lanka, Venerable Śrī Rāhula Thera, who was one of the most gifted Sinhala poets, happened to dwell at Jayavardhana-pura. Although the Vijaya-Bāhu Parivena at Toṭagamuvē was the latter's permanent residence. He became Śrī Rāhula's pupil, learned from his teacher the Tipiṭaka or the Pali Canon and was consequently converted to Buddhism. In honour of his teacher Rāmacandra wrote : "May it happen that the virtuous Śrī Rāhula—a profound scholar having a thorough knowledge of the Three Pitakas—like unto the moon shining above the (milky) ocean-like Nauryya race, may be my friend in all my subsequent births".⁶ About his patron also Rāmacandra in the same text recorded : "May the king Vira Parākramabāhu, like unto one who has surpassed Asaṅga in beauty, who is deep in his devotion of Lord Buddha, reign on this earth for a long time to come". Further, supplying information about himself Rāmacandra told :

"When like a Sun illumining a lotus pond,
Parākrama-Bāhu adorned the solar race,
And ruled O'er Laṅkā, just and righteously,
Śrī Rāmacandra, the Bengali Brahmin bard
composed these hymns, so that those hearing may
acquire merit, and the Nirvanic bliss".

It is known that the King Parākrama-Bāhu VI, the crown-jewel of those who ruled the earth, became so much pleased with the work of Rāmacandra that he presented the poet a gold medal bearing the inscription : Bauddhāgama Cakravartī, i. e. the Universal Monarch of the Buddhist texts, and appointed him the 'spiritual Prime Minister'.⁷ Hence in the colophon of that work the poet recorded that "here ends the *Bhakti-satakam* or 'Century of Devotion' composed by the Great Paṇḍit, the Great Ācārya. The Brāhmaṇa belonging to the country of Gauḍa, with his title Baudduāgama Cakravartī, the great worshipper of the all-knowing Lord Śākya Muni, blessed be his name.⁸ In another book also Rāmacandra noted : "This commentary (i. e. Vṛttaratnākara-pañcika) has been written by one proficient in all the sciences, who having learnt the good Law of Buddha from Venerable Śrī Rāhula—teacher of the three Piṭakas—follows the Three Guides, and receives from His Majesty the King (i. e. Parākrama-Bāhu VI) of Sri Lanka the title of Bauddhāgama Cakravartī".⁹ Such expressions may remind us of the same sentiment

found in some verses of the *Saudarānanda-Kāvyaṃ* of Aśvaghoṣa. In a sense Rāmacandra may be called a true successor of Aśvaghoṣa, the celebrated poet of the first century A. D. who composed the immortal epic poems the *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarānandakavyaṃ*. Both Aśvaghoṣa and Rāmacandra originally belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste and became experts in the Brahmanical lore during the early phase of their youth. Hence both of them could utilise their varied knowledge in their works fully and noted their unconditional surrender to Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

Works :

The three works, namely, *Bhakti-satakam*, *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā* (or-*pañjikā*) which is itself a detailed commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara* a famous compendium of metres, of Śrī Kedārabhaṭṭa, and *Vṛttamālākhyā* is Classical Sanskrit are so far ascribed to Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī in Sri Lanka.

Historical Importance :

The *Bhakti-Satakam* or "A Century of Devotion", popularly known in Sri Lanka as the *Buddha-Satakam*, which may be probably Rāmacandra's first work composed when he was still known as the brāhmaṇa Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī, is still regarded there as one of the text-books in the traditional system of Parivena education. It derives its title from the fact that it consists of one hundred (but actually 107) verses, illustrative of the virtues of Buddha, composed in order to reveal the great faith the poet had in him.¹⁰ This work is important because it shows that an author who was formally converted to Buddhism had a thorough acquaintance with the true doctrines of Buddhism and also with their accepted interpretations. Hence the usefulness of it to the beginners in acquiring a good style in general and in learning the basic tenets of Lord Buddha in particular, can neither be gainsaid nor exaggerated.

Although Rāmacandra became a staunch Buddhist, he maintained a liberal outlook even after his conversion. So he wrote in the very first verse of the *Bhakti-satakam* : "He, whose knowledge has for its object all that is knowable, he whose words are beyond the reach of reproach, he, in whom there is not an iota attachment (to the world) he, in whom there is no envy and no ignorance, and the great sweetness of whose mercy (is generated) without cause, affords happiness to an infinite number of the members of the animate

world ; be he *Buddha*, or be he *Girisa*, he is my *Lord*, I make my obeisance to him"¹¹ Apart from such liberality of mind of the poet this verse also reflects the religious adjustment made between Brahmanism and Buddhism during Rāmacandra's time.¹² The *Bhakti-satakam* is also historically important as it, peculiarly enough, belongs to Mahāyāna and to Theravāda Buddhism as well. The following verses will aptly reveal this fact : "He is a son of thy family, he is devoted to thee, he bears the burden of thy teaching, he is a disciple, he takes refuge with thee, he is thy above, he who never on any account swerves from thy command."¹³ And "doing good to the world, O Buddha, is worship to thee, doing evil to it, O Lord of the is pain to thee. O Jina, how should I, when doing evil to the world, not to be ashamed of saying that I am devoted to thy lotus-feet"¹⁴. Rāmacandra's devotion to Buddha was unparalleled. The poet realised that without bhakti or devotion the *summum bonum* of life could not be attained by one who was even vastly learned. He thought that wisdom based on devotion and devotion based on wisdom could only show one the beacon in the midst of darkness of ignorance.¹⁵ Through the poetic genius of Rāmacandra this bare historical fact is revealed. The Indian, especially Brahmanical, concept of Bhakti or the devotion for God had quietly been transferred to Lord Buddha in the subsequent periods. Here Buddha is worshipped and praised in the ornate poetic style with a variety of metres as the only teacher and dispenser of mercies in the same way as Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Śiva of the devotional poems of the Brahmanical religion.¹⁶ Hence with regard to this book Heinz Bechert has remarked that "it (i.e. *Bhakti-Satakam*) deserves special attention as the best example of Buddhist bhakti literature. The bhakti movement, which originated in Vaiṣṇava circles, is known to have influenced Mahāyāna Buddhism, but there is not much evidence from other sources for influence of the bhakti movement on the development of Theravāda Buddhism. Therefore, it is particularly surprising to find a work like the *Bhakti-sātaka* in the literary tradition of orthodox Theravāda in Ceylon and forming part of the curriculum of Theravāda monastic schools, when bhakti is the central concept of this text and Mahāyāna influence is clearly evident in the work"¹⁷ This work reveals that the poet had been largely indebted to contemporary Vaiṣṇavism for his concept of bhakti.

As already mentioned, the *Vṛttaratnākara-Pañjikā* (or-*Pañjikā*) is a commentarial work Rāmacandra on Kedarabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara*. This commentary contains valuable information about the commentator himself, his surroundings and deep respect for Buddha. Besides,

poet's devotion to Avalakiteśvara of Mahāyāna Buddhism is also revealed in this commentary as it contains several stanzas in praise of this Mahāyāna deity also mentioned here as Avalokitanātha. Thus from the religious point of view the work is of utmost significance. In the foregoing pages we have already quoted some verses from this commentary to unveil some facts relating to Ramacandra's personal life. Further this commentary shows the author's scholarship as well as his poetic genius.

Rāmacandra had composed the *Vṛttmālākhyā* which is also known as the *Mahānetraprasā-damṇlamahāsthaviracarita*, to facilitate study of metres of Sanskrit poetry with an account of the celebrated Buddhist monk called Mahānetraprasādamūla. This book was probably written after the composition of the *Bhātī-satakam* and *Vṛttarat-nākarapañcikā* (or-*pañjikā*) as there are many illustrations from these two works in the *Vṛttmālākhyā*, though there is no reference to the later one in the former books. The *Vṛttmālākhyā* consists of fifty-two stanzas composed to illustrate the different metres for the pupils of metrics.¹⁸ It also presents a vivid description of the Island of Laṅkā, personal account of King Parākrama-Bāhu VI and of Princess Ābharauvati, biographical sketches of Venerable Maṅgal Saamgharāja as well as Venerable Dīpankara who used to reside in the Śāitāntaramūla Vihāra identified with the present Galapata Vihāra in Bentota on the South-West coast of Sri Lanka.¹⁹

Rāmacandra's visit to Sri Lanka was not quite an accident. As already said, this poet had gone to that island during the reign of Parākrama-Bāhu VI who "himself was imbued with a deep scholarship and a great love for culture in all its variety." This King possessed a wide knowledge of Sanskrit, and was probably much struck by the sacred works of the Hindus which he had read. Brahmans came thither (i.e. Sri Lanka) in large numbers, and we find them studying under the monks and sometimes being converted to the Buddhist faith (in ; e.g. Sri Rāmacandra Bhāratī, author of the *Bhakti-sataka*)²⁰.

The Bengalee poet-scholar, Rāmacandra, as already stated, came to Sri Lanka during the 15th century to study Buddhism and ultimately was converted to Buddha's religion there having been well-versed in Buddhist lore under a Sinhalese monk-teacher Śrī Rāhula & patron-king Parākrama-Bāhu VI who was very much eager to establish a cultural link between Sri Lanka and India for mutual understanding and cultural exchanges.²¹ His works have left a great impact on the religious and literary legacies of this island. Hence the life of Rāmacandra is significant from the point of view of cultural history of

the two great countries—Sri Lanka and India.²² Rāmacandra's visit to Sri Lanka reminds us of Vijayayasimha, a scion of the royal family of Rādhā, a Janapada of Ancient Bengal, who went to Sri Lanka and settled in that island ultimately.²³

Notes and References :

1. Dey, Nundo Lal, (*The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (London, Luzac & Co. 1971), pp. 63, 233.
2. Winternitz, Maurice, (*A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II (Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1933), p. 379.
3. *Vṛttaratnākara-pāñcikā*.
4. Majumdar, R. C. ed. (*The History of Bengal*, Vol. 1 (Dacca, The University of Dacca, 1943), p. 688 with fn.
5. Malalasekera, G. P. (*The Pali Literature of Ceylon* (Colombo, M. D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd., 1958), pp. 247-250
6. Rāhulanāmā munirati Viddhān ṣaḍguṇabhāri Tripiṭakadhāri | Mauryyakulāv-
dhiprabhavasudhāmsu janmani janmamypaṃ mame mitram ||—*Vṛttaratnākara-
pāñcikā*.
7. For the composition of *Bhakti-satakam*.
8. Bhāswadbhānukulāmbujanmamihire rājādhirājeśvare Srīlankādhipatau Parākra-
mabhuje nityāmahimsāsati, Sadgaḍaḥ Kavibhāṭi Kṣītisuraḥ Srīramacandra
Sudhiḥ Srotṛnāmkaṛeṭ sabhaktiśatakaṃ dharmamāṛthamokṣapradam- Iti Srīśā-
kyamunerbhagavataḥ sarvvajñasya paramopasakena Gauḍadeśiyena Srībavddhā-
gamācakra-varttinā bhusureṇācāryyena.
Mahāpaṇḍitena (Rāmacandreṇa) viracitaṃ Bhakti-śatakaṃ samāptaṃ.—
Bhakti-satakam, verse No. 107 and its colophon.
9. Srimadrāhulapādastripiṭakācāryyadguronirmmalaṃ, Bauddham śāstramādhīya
yastuśaraṇaṃ ratanatrayaṃ Śīrīye.
Yo Bauddhāgamācakra-varttipadvim Lankeśvaralladhvān, So Srimāniha
sarvvaśāstranipuṇo vyākhyāmimamvyātānit.—*Vṛttaratnākara-pāñcikā*. (*or-pāñ-
jikā*).
10. *Bhakti-satakam*, verse No. 14.
11. Jñanam yasya samastavastuvīśayam yasyanavadyam vaco Yasmin rāgalavo'pt
nāiva na punardevaṣṇo mohastatha, Yasyā'heturanantasatva Sukhadanālpa Kṛpā
mādhuri Buddhō va Gīrīśe thavā sa bhagaoam stasmai namas urmmahe.
12. *Journal and Text of the Buddhist Text Society of India*, Vol. 1, p. II. May
1893. pp. 21-22 (Sastri, Hara Prasad-Bhakti Sataka-One hundred ślokaḥ on
reverence and love).
13. Sa tava Kulasutaḥ sa eva bhaktaḥ,
Sa bhavati śāsanadhurvvaḥ sa śīṣyaḥ.
Sa ca śaraṇagataḥ sa eva dāsāḥ,
Kathamapi yo na vilanghayettavāṇām (verse No. 32)

14. Jagadupakrtireva Buddhapujā,
Tadapakristava Lokanātha piḍā.
Jina Jagadapkr̥t Katham na lajje,
Gaditumaham tava pādapadmabhaktaḥ (verse No. 33).
 15. *Subarnalekhā : Golden Jubilee Commemoration Volume of the Department of Modern Indian Languages* (Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1974). pp. 885-896 (Das, Asha, Rāmacandra Kavibhārati O 'Bhaktiśatakam')
 16. *The Mother* : A monthly journal devoted to Indian religion and culture, Vols XV & XVI, Nos. 12 & 1, August & September, 1973, pp. 5-9 (Barua, Dipak K. (Rāmacandra Kavibhārati : A Poet of Bengal).
 17. Narain, A. K. ed. *Studies in Pali and Buddhism : A Homage volume to the memory of Bhikkhu Jagadish Kashyap* (Delhi, 1979), p. 26 (Bechert, Heinz Remarks on Four Buddhist Sanskrit Works composed in Sri Lanka).
 18. But Heinz Bechert has stated that there are 57 verses in this text. *ibid*, p. 26
 19. *Journal and Text of the Buddhist Text Society of India*, Vol II, Pt. I, 1894, pp. 17-28 (Seelakkhandha, C. A. ed. *Vṛttamālākhyā*).
 20. Malalasekera, G. P. (*The*) *Pali Literature of Ceylon*. pp. 249-250
 21. Sthavira, Acarya Sri Silakkhandha, *Bhakti-Shatakam* (Darjeeling. The Buddhist Text Society of India, 1896) p. III
 22. Mahasthavira, Visuddhananda trans. *Bhakti-satakam* by Pandita Rāmacandra Bhārati (Calcutta, Mahāraj Mahajan, 1945). pp. I-II (Jñāpani).
 - 3 *The Maha Bodhi* : Journal of the Maha Bodhi Society, Vol. 80, No 8 August 1972, pp. 396-3.8 (Weeraratane, Amarasiri, Acharya Sri Rāmacandra Bhārati's 'Bhakti Sataka'—'A Century of Buddha—hymns').
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A Short History of the Pali Studies in the University of Calcutta (1880-1983)

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The University of Calcutta occupies the unique position in the history of education as being the first University in India to have introduced Pali as an independent subject at the Post-graduate level for which teaching arrangements were made on a small scale by the University authorities as early as 1907. The Department of Pali studies, which originated from this humble beginning, was set up in an organised form in 1917. "The objective of the University in undertaking this venture was to open out to its advanced students an opportunity for a comprehensive study of that distinct and widespread civilization which is represented by Buddhism. The fact should not be lost sight of that from the 5th century B. C. to the 12th century A. D. Buddhism moulded thoughts, ideals and literatures of the entire Far East. The history of Buddhism is also a story of cultural contacts between different groups of people in South, South-East and East Asia. The Department of Pali studies was intended to provide opportunities for the study of the cultural contacts between all these different regions". (C. U. Annual Report, 1954-55).

The Pali Department could rightly claim to have produced numerous successful students in the past, who distinguished themselves not only in the field of education but also in other spheres of life. But the Department's chief claim to fame centred round the names of two such distinguished alumni (subsequently associated with it as Professors) as those of Dr. Benimadhab Barua, who was a

great Indologist of world-wide reputation and Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, who was a recognised authority on Buddhist studies, particularly in relation to Mahayana literature and philosophy. The third luminary was Dr Bimala Churn Law, another ex-student of the Department, who occupied a front rank among Indian scholars for his contributions to diverse subjects like Buddhism, Jainism, Ancient Indian History and Geography. Among the teachers (both Indian and Foreign) who served the Department in the past were also such celebrities, as Satischandra Vidyabhusan, Rakhal Das Banerji, D. R. Bhandarkar, Rev. R. Siddhartha, Bhagaban Chandra Mahasthavir, Rev. K. Deva-rakshita, R. Kimura, J. Masuda, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Hem Chandra Ray Choudhuri, Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Nanigopal Majumdar, Radha Govinda Basak, Niranjana Prasad Chakravarti, Satkari Mookerjee, Stella Kramrisch, Benoy Chandra Sen, Jitendranath Banerjee and the like.

Introduction of Pali at the Under-Graduate Stage

The University of Calcutta can also claim to have been the first University in India to afford facilities of Pali studies to the students offering their option for the study of Pali as one of their subjects in schools and colleges. The students availed themselves of this opportunity which came into force with effect from the academic session 1880-1881. There had been for long a demand for Pali studies at the school and college stages which became increasingly manifest among students of Rangoon, and the demand was first met by the opening of classes in Pali in the Govt. Rangoon College during the session 1880-81. The University responded to this demand by introducing Pali for the first time at the under-graduate level and conducting examination for the F. A. Course in November 1880. The movement in this direction was accelerated by the Director of Public Instruction, British Burmah, who requested the University authorities to consider the fair demand of the local people (Rangoon) and take necessary steps in this affair. The following extracts from the University Minutes for the year 1880-81 may be quoted here in this context :

Item No. 59 (Minutes 1880-81, P49—28th Oct. 1880). "Read a letter from the Director of Public Instructions, British Burmah, requesting that the necessary arrangements may be made for

examining candidates for the F. A. Examination at Rangoon in the ensuing November, and that one of the candidates may be allowed to take up Pali as a second language.

Ordered—

1) That Rangoon be added to the list of centres for the F. A. Examination.

2) That Pali be added to the list of second languages for the Entrance, F. A. and B. A. Examinations.

3) That Dr. Forchhammer be requested to set papers for the ensuing F. A. Examination in the Dhammapada and Buddhavanso, the text books recommended for the examination by the Director of Public Instruction, British Burmah—Minutes for 1879-80, page 42”

Item No. 111 (Minutes 1880-81, P65—22nd Jan. 1881).

“Read a letter from the Director of Public Instruction, British Burmah, recommending the following text-books in Pali for the University Examinations, in place of those formerly sanctioned :

For the Entrance Examination :—

- 1) Pali Miscellany, by Prof. Trenckner (28 pages of the text);
- 2) Selections from the Jātakas (Fausboll’s edition) : the Apaṇṇaka Jātaka (36 pages of the text);

For the F. A. Examination :

- 1) Jātakas (Fausboll’s edition); Vaggo I-IV, inclusive, pages 95-234).
- 2) Dhammapada (Fausboll’s edition): the First Bhāṇavāram, pages 1-35.

For the B. A. Examination :

- i) Kaccāyana (Senart’s edition);
- ii) Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha

and enquiring whether the Syndicate could arrange for the printing of the last mentioned work in Calcutta,—the copy to be furnished by Professor Forchhammer.

Resolved--

That the above mentioned list of text-books in Pali be accepted, and that the Director of Public Instruction, British Burmah, be invited to furnish detailed proposals with regard to the arrangements to be made for printing the Abhidhammathasangaha in Calcutta." Thus the above University records reveal that Burma, the land of Theravāda (Pali) Buddhism, played the dominant role in the introduction of Pali for the first time in the University of Calcutta with the result that the subject gained popularity not only among the students of Rangoon but also of Calcutta and Chittagong, where in course of time a number of schools and colleges were affiliated in Pali in all the under-graduate courses of study. Steps were also taken from time to time by the University authorities for introducing changes in the Syllabi for the respective examinations to meet fresh requirements in the study of Pali. It appears from the University Calendar of 1886 that the University authorities made necessary arrangements for holding examination in Pali Honours for which questions were set for the first time in 1885. But we do not find the name of any graduate with Honours in Pali, recorded in the Honours list of the successful candidates in the calendar before 1908. It is noteworthy that the first graduate with Honours in Pali was Mr Mahima Ranjan Barua who appeared from the Presidency College in the supplementary B. A. Examination held in 1908.

Early History of the Post-Graduate Study in Pali

Pali was recognised by the University as an independent subject for Post-graduate study during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and it was included in the course of study prescribed for the M. A. Examination with effect from 1889. A detailed syllabus in the subject was also laid down in the University Regulations, but no provision was made for a systematic teaching of the subject in any of the affiliated first-grade colleges upto the M. A. standard. No student came forward (during the years 1889 to 1900) to offer himself as a candidate for the M. A. Examination in Pali. Consequently there was no problem so long of the examination affairs relating to the M. A. Course in Pali. But it was in 1901 that Mr. Satish Chandra Acharyya, Professor, Sanskrit College, offered himself as the only candidate for the M. A. Examination in Pali. The University authorities had to face directly the difficulty of finding out suitable examiners for this purpose. It is very significant that this examina-

tion, the first held in the University, had ultimately to be conducted with the assistance of Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids who gladly agreed to act as paper-setter and examiner in all the six papers of the Examination. He was admitted to the M. A. degree and was placed in the first class with high marks in the subject. Mr. Harinath De, whose literary and linguistic attainments attracted the attention of scholars both at home and abroad, was also a candidate in 1906 for the M. A. Examination in Pali. He achieved high distinction in this examination having stood first in the first class, On this second occasion also Prof. Rhys Davids was appointed Examiner in Pali. In course of the next three consecutive years other candidates, who followed the examples of their predecessors, also came out successful at the respective examinations. But it is noteworthy that all the enthusiasts for Pali studies who were admitted to the M. A. degree in Pali during the nine years of the first decade of the present century (1901 and 1906-1909) appeared at the examinations as Private or non-Collegiate candidates.

The importance of Pali studies at the Post-graduate level was fully appreciated by the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee who was at the helm of all University affairs as its Vice-Chancellor from 1906 to 1914. Arrangements for Post-graduate teaching in Sanskrit and Pali were first made by the University in 1907 under its own aegis in conformity with Section 3 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904. Accordingly, Mr. Dharmananda Kosambi, a celebrated Maharastrayan scholar in Pali, was appointed the first University Lecturer in Pali during the last quarter of 1907 on a monthly salary of Rs. 100/- (One hundred) only.

The financial provision arranged by the Syndicate for the remuneration of the Pali Lecturer at such a comparatively low salary was obviously inadequate for a distinguished scholar hailing from Maharastra who had been associated with the University of Calcutta as a Post-Graduate Lecturer in Pali for the first time. During the next session this important matter was discussed seriously in a meeting of the Syndicate held on the 9th October, 1908 with the result that the Syndicate sanctioned a suitable increment of salary (Rs 250/-per month from the 1st October, 1908) consistent with his status and qualifications. (Minutes of the Syndicate, V, 1908, pp 1930-1931). This was communicated to Prof. Kosambi in due time.

But inspite of the efforts of the University to retain the services of an eminent Pali scholar for Post-graduate teaching, Mr. D. Kosambi tendered his resignation intimating to the University authorities to this effect that "he was unable to continue to act as a University Lecturer in Pali "(C. U. Minutes, 1909, page 44).

The early resignation of Mr. D. Kosambi caused great inconvenience to the University, as there was a dearth of really competent men who could be entrusted with the work of Post-graduate teaching in Pali. Under such circumstances, a Committee consisting of the Hon'ble Vice Chancellor, Mr. Harinath De and Dr. Thibaut, was appointed by the Syndicate to consider and report on the question of future appointment of a University Lecturer in Pali in the place of Professor Kosambi resigned. Ultimately Mahamahopadhyay, Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan, Principal, Sanskrit College, was appointed University Lecturer in Pali (C. U. Minutes 1910, p. 798) with effect from July, 1910 "on an honorarium of Rs. 100/- a month for his lectures extending to at least 3 hours a week". During this formative period extending over seven years (1910-1917) Dr. Vidyabhushan taught almost all the papers required for the M. A. Course in Pali including some of the Group papers according to the necessity of the students, and he carried on this responsible task as Lecturer in the most satisfactory manner in addition to his other heavy duties. It should be mentioned in this connection that during this period the Sanskrit and Pali students of the M. A. classes also received instructions and guidance in Epigraphy under the eminent archaeologist Rakhal Das Banerjee who was associated for sometime at the initial stage with the Post-Graduate studies introduced in the University (C U Calendars 1912-1913).

The Pali students also attended the lectures of Mr. Surendra Nath Majumdar Sastri on Inscriptions and Ancient Indian Geography at the Darbhanga Building during the academic sessions of 1913-1917. It is worthy of note that Sree Lalit Mohan Kar was the first regular candidate who was admitted to the M. A. degree in Pali in 1911 as a University student.

From 1912 onwards, students attending Univrsity classes appeared from year to year at the M. A. Examination in Pali and came out successful as University students, Non-collegiate students also appeared from time to time at these examinations and were admitted to the M.A. degree in Pali. This is the nucleus of Post-Graduate

studies in Pali in the University of Calcutta for which some provision, however inadequate, was made in course of three years (1907-1910), and it was due to the persistent effort of the University authorities that the continuity of Pali studies on a Post-Graduate level was maintained throughout a decade (1907-1916) until a full-fledged Department was formed and established under the control of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts during the session 1917-1918.

Outline of the History of Pali Studies (1917-1948).

As in respect of other Departments, so in the case of Pali also the year 1917 was a great landmark. In 1917 when Post-Graduate studies were centralised under the control of the Council of Post-Graduate teaching, the Department of Pali was expanded by the appointment of Lecturers and the revision of syllabus prepared in 1906.

During the early part of the academic session 1917-18 the following gentlemen were appointed as Post-Graduate teachers in Pali :—

Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhushan, M. A.,
Ph.D.

Mr. D.R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

Babu Surendranath Majumdar, M.A.

Babu Sailendranath Mitra, M.A. (Gold Medalist, 1912)

The honorarium paid to Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhushan was raised to Rs. 200/- a month with effect from the above academic session and Babu Sailendranath Mitra M.A. was appointed University Lecturer for a term of three years on a remuneration of Rs. 200/- a month. It is further known from the Proceedings of the Board of Higher Studies in Pali, dated the 21st December 1917, that Dr. Benimadhab Barua, M.A. (Gold Medalist) D. Litt. (London) was appointed University Lecturer for a term of five years on a remuneration of Rs. 300-50-500 a month (to deal principally with Pali and Group (iii) of the special course in Ancient Indian History and Culture) Thus the teaching staff was strengthened by the appointment of Dr. Benimadhab Barua who was the first Asian to be

admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Literature in the University of London. The Board of Higher Studies in Pali also proceeded to consider the course of studies for the M.A. Examination in Pali and recommended the substitution of the following syllabus (with the sanction of the Government) for that contained in the previous regulations. To encourage the study of Mahāyāna Buddhism, there was instituted a special group comprising some of the principal works in Buddhist Sanskrit Language. The M.A. Course in Pali was divided into four groups. The first four papers of all the groups were identical and covered the following subjects :—

- Paper I Selected portions of the Sutta-piṭaka
- Paper II Selected portions of the Vinaya-piṭaka
- Paper III Pali and Prakrit Grammar and Philology
- Paper IV History of Pali Literature and Buddhism

As regards the other four remaining papers, candidates were allowed the choice of one out of the following four groups :—

Group A—(Literary)

- Paper V Selected portions of the Jātakas
- Paper VI Selected portions of Pali Literature in general
- Paper VII Inscriptions
- Paper VIII Essay and translation of unseen Pali passages into English

Group B —(Pali Philosophy)

- Paper V Selected portions of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka
- Paper VI Selected portions of the non-canonical works
- Paper VII Selected portions of the canonical and non-canonical works with commentaries
- Paper VIII Essay and translation

Group C—(Epigraphy and History)

- Paper V a) Selected portions of the Pali annals and chronicles
b) Unseen passages for translation into English
- Paper VI Inscriptions of the Maurya period
- Paper VII Cave inscriptions and inscriptions of the Gupta period
- Paper VIII Ancient Geography of India and Essay

Group D—Mahayana Literature and Philosophy)

- Paper V Selected texts (prose and poetry) of Mahayana Literature
 Paper VI Selected texts of Madhyamika and Yogachara Philosophy
 Paper VII Selected texts of Buddhist works on Nyaya
 Paper VIII (a) Sanskrit Grammar (b) Essay

Thus the division of the Post-Graduate Course in Pali into four groups was sufficiently justified by the impetus given thereby to the systematic study of Buddhism, Abhidhamma and Mahayana in particular. Arrangements were also made to give the students the full benefit of Tutorial Classes under expert Tutors and there was established a Seminar in which students and teachers used to meet once a week to discuss subjects of general interest with special reference to Buddhism and allied Culture. The arrangements for higher teaching in Pali which had already been made were expanded from year to year and in course of seven or eight years the staff was strengthened by the appointment of a few more lecturers and requisition of services of some teachers from some of the allied Departments. From the Proceedings of the Council of P. G. Teaching, it is known that the undermentioned gentlemen were appointed University teachers in the Department of Pali for a term of five years on the grade and salary stated against their names with effect from the 1st June 1920 :

Name	Grade	Salary on 1st June 1920
Dr. Benimadhab Barua	300-50-500	400
Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (Deptt. of History)	—	50
Babu Nalinaksha Datta (already appointed in 1918)	200-25-300	225
Bhikshu Kukulnape Devarakshita		100
Rajaguru Bhagabanchandra Mahasthavir		150
Babu Sailendranath Mitra	200-25-300	225
Samana Punnananda		100
Samana Rambukwelle Siddhartha		100
Babu Gokuldas De (appointed in 1918)	100-25-200	125

The remuneration of MM. Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhushan M. A., Ph. D. was also fixed at Rs. 200/- a month subject to the sanction of the authorities of the Sanskrit College.

The teaching of some special subjects in Pali was entrusted to the following gentlemen whose services were requisitioned from the Departments of History and Sanskrit :—

1. Babu Surendranath Majumdar, M. A., P. R. S. (Dept. of History);
2. Babu Radhagobinda Basak, M. A., (Dept. of History);
3. Babu Niranjanprasad Chakraborty M. A. (Dept. of Sanskrit);
4. Mr. R. Kimura (Dept. of History) and
5. Mr. J. Masuda (Dept. of History)

It may be further noted in this connection that on the recommendation of a joint meeting of the Boards of Higher Studies in Sanskrit and Pali, dated May 1920, Babu Amareswar Thakur, M.A., in Sanskrit (Group A, Group B and Group D) and in Pali (Group A.) 1918 (Gold Medalist) was appointed University Lecturer in the Departments of Sanskrit and Pali for a term of five years in the grade Rs. 200-25-300 and his initial salary was fixed at Rs. 250 per month. Similarly in a joint meeting of the Board of Higher Studies in Sanskrit, Pali and History, dated the 10th September 1920, Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar M. A., Ph. D. was appointed to lecture on the Geography of Ancient India to Post-Graduate students in the Departments of Sanskrit, Pali and Ancient Indian History and Culture, and an extra remuneration of Rs. 100 a month was sanctioned for him with effect from 1st September 1920. The services of Mr. Nanigopal Majumdār, M. A., University Lecturer in History were also requisitioned to take the Inscription classes in the Pali Department for the session 1924-25 in the absence of Dr. N. P. Chakrabarti who was in England on leave. Besides the above Mr. Ramaprasad Chowdhury and Mr. Hiren--dralal Sengupta, who were appointed assistants to the Department of Pali, were entrusted with the teaching work in the Department during the session 1922-23. Thus the staff consisting of distinguished University scholars and Buddhist Bhikkhus of great erudition, represented a happy and fortunate combination of experts of the western or scientific and the eastern or traditional methods.

As regards the Board of Examiners in Pali for the M. A. Examination it appears from the list of Examiners (Internal and External) recorded in the University Calendars (1919-1925) that external examiners, recruited from different parts of India and abroad, included distinguished scholars and authors like Dr T. W. Rhys Davids, Ph. D., Mons. C. Duroiselle, Dr. F. W. Thomas, M. A., Ph. D., Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Rev. Dharmavamsa Bhikshu, Prof. K. V. Depal, M. A., Prof. P. V. Bapat, Mr. Shwe Zan Aung, etc.

Subsequently Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M. A., D. Lit. (Lond), whose honorary services were requisitioned from the Department of Comparative Philology, joined the Department to teach the students Pali Philology for the session 1925-26, and Mr. Hirendralal Sengupta, M. A., Class I (Gold Medalist) was appointed a temporary University Lecturer in Pali

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The Department sustained a severe loss owing to the sudden and untimely death of MM Dr. Satishchandra Vidyabhusan, University Lecturer in Pali and Sanskrit, on the 26th March 1920. Dr. Vidyabhusan had been to all intents and purposes the Lecturer-in-Charge of the Department since the very inception of the Post-Graduate studies in Pali in the University of Calcutta. After his demise, the charge of the Department devolved on Dr. B. M. Barua who smoothly discharged his official responsibilities with the assistance and co-operation of his colleagues. It may be mentioned in this connection that for a number of years there was no Professor in the Department which was manned by Lecturers alone. But in 1925, on the recommendation of the Executive Committee, the post of a Professor was created and the first incumbent of the Chair was Dr. B. M. Barua. We may quote the relevant paragraph from the Proceedings (1925) of the Executive Committee dated the 19th November, 1925 :—

“The Executive Committee recommends that Dr. Benimadhab Barua be appointed in the special grade Rs. 500-25-700 with effect from 1st June 1925, and that he be placed in charge of the Department with the designation of University Professor as a personal distinction.”

Dr. Barua served in that capacity with great distinction and ability till his death. During the tenure of his service

as Professor (1925-1948), the Department of Pali was enriched and increasingly expanded by the acquisition of higher research degrees on the part of some of the members of the teaching staff and requisition of the honorary services of some distinguished teachers of such sister Departments as those of Ancient Indian History, Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. In 1927 Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, who had been granted study leave for a period of two years proceeded to Europe for intensive study and research in Mahayana Literature and Philosophy under the guidance of Prof. La Vallee Poussin. On the completion of his thesis entitled "Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism and its relation to Hinayana", he was admitted in due course to the Degree of Doctor of Literature in the University of London, a rare distinction with which few Indians had been previously honoured by the London University. The staff of the small Pali Department undoubtedly enjoyed the proud privilege of being associated closely with two Doctors of Literature (Lond.) which indirectly shed lustre upon the fair name of the Calcutta University.

In the course of next few years the existing staff, which was considered to be inadequate and required to be expanded, was further strengthened by the addition of the following teachers whose services were requisitioned from the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture :— (1) Dr. Hemchandra Roy Chaudhuri (1931), Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi (1931-32) and Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen (1932-33). Dr. Satkari Mookerjee of the Sanskrit Department also joined the Pali Department during the session 1931-32 to lecture on some Buddhist Sanskrit Texts. Dr. Radha Govinda Basak, who had been associated with the Pali Department at the initial stage of Post Graduate teaching, agreed to serve as Honorary lecturer in Epigraphy in the Departments of Sanskrit and Pali during 1935-1941. After he had left the University, Dr. Sadananda Bhaduri of the Presidency College was appointed in his place as Honorary Lecturer in the Department of Pali in 1944.

About this time there were slight changes in the (whole time) staff of the Department. Sri Sailendra Nath Mitra, a veteran scholar in Pali, was appointed by the University authorities to officiate as Secretary to the Councils of Post-Graduate teaching in Arts and Science with effect from the 13th July 1935 on an allowance of Rs. 200/- p. m. in addition to his salary as University Lecturer. After the confirmation of his post as Secretary, Sri Dwijendralal Barua,

M.A., a Research Fellow in the Department, was appointed as whole time (Assistant) Lecturer in the Department of Pali in 1937. Sri S. N. Mitra, however, retained his connection with the Department as an Honorary part-time Lecturer. About this time the service of Sri Birinchi Kumar Barua, M.A. (Pali), Part-time Lecturer in Assamese, University of Calcutta, was also requisitioned for the Department and he took part in the teaching work during the sessions 1937-38 and 1938-39. The teaching of some special papers for the M.A. course in Pali was also entrusted to Sri Nalini Nath Dasgupta, M.A. Research Fellow in the Department of Pali (appointed in 1937) and Sri Anukul Chandra Banerjee, Research Assistant for Tibetan and Chinese studies (appointed in 1935). The two continued to assist in the teaching work from the beginning of the session 1937-38.

Prof. Barua then turned his attention to the revision of the M.A. Pali syllabus. The members of the Board of Studies considered the necessity of revising and enlarging the existing syllabus, and accordingly a comprehensive syllabus was drawn up in 1936 for conducting M. A. studies in 5 groups (of 3 papers each) with the introduction of a new group for the study in Buddhist Art and Iconography. The first five papers (instead of four papers as required by the existing regulations) were compulsory for each group. Arrangements were also made for teaching some of the special papers concerned with the new group (Group E—Art and Iconography) and consequently the honorary services of Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Ph. D, and Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, M. A., were requisitioned for the Pali students from the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture with effect from the commencement of the session 1938-39.

The staff, including the teachers recruited from other Departments, was constituted as follows during the sessions 1938-39 and 1939-1940.

Prof. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D. Litt. (Lond.)
Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, M.A., Ph. D, D. Litt. (Lond.)
Mr. Gokuldas De, M. A.
Mr. Dwijendralal Barua, M. A.
Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, M. A.
Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M. A., D. Litt. (Paris)
Mr. Birinchi Kumar Barua, M. A.

Dr. Satkari Mookherjee, M. A., Ph. D.
Dr. Amarešwar Thakur, M. A., Ph. D.
Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Ph. D.
Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M. A., D. Lit. (Lond.)
Prof. Hemchandra Roy Chaudhury, M. A. Ph. D.
Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, M. A.
Dr. Binay Chandra Sen, M. A., Ph. D. (Lond.)
Dr. Radhagobinda Basak, M. A., Ph. D.

It should be also mentioned in this connection that Dr. Sukumar Sen, M. A., Ph. D., University Lecturer in Comparative Philology and the Research Fellow, Sri Manmohan Ghosh, M. A. belonging to the Philology Department, also used to take classes in the Department for the benefit of the Pali students during the absence of Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee owing to his occasional visits to Europe and other countries outside India.

It may be stated here incidentally that other allied Departments of Post-Graduate Studies required assistance of the Pali Department for teaching work, and consequently the honorary services of some distinguished teachers of the Pali Department were also requisitioned from time to time by the respective Heads of the Departments in this regard. Dr. B. M. Barua had served the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture well-nigh for thirty years (1919-1948) as honorary Lecturer on Buddhism and Jainism. His services were also requisitioned during the session 1927-28 by the Head of the Department of Sanskrit where he served as Lecturer on Epigraphy till his death in March 1948.

Sri Sailendra Nath Mitra M. A., who had been teaching the basic language Pali in the Department of Indian Vernacular since 1919, had to discontinue his services in the Department due to his appointment as Secretary (P. G. Councils), and in his place Sri Gokul Das De, M. A., gladly accepted the responsibility of teaching Pali assigned to him in the Department of Indian Vernaculars which he maintained till his retirement in 1955. After his retirement Mr. Dwijendralal Barua, M. A., was entrusted with the duty of teaching Pali in the Department of Modern Indian Languages.

Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt was also appointed a Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture during the session

1919-20 and was associated with Dr. Barua in delivering lectures on Buddhism. The syllabus revised and given effect to the M. A Examination 1939 was as follows :—

Revised Syllabus for the Year 1939

Common Paper—

Paper I

Select portions of Buddhist Sutras (Pali and Sanskrit)
with or without commentaries.

Paper II

Select portions of the Vinaya and Ecclesiastical Chronicles

Paper III

Select portions of the Buddhist Philosophical works
(Pali and Sanskrit)

Paper IV

Language and Literature (Grammar, Philology and History of Literature)

Paper V

History and Geography with special reference to original texts

Group A—Literature

Paper VI

Select Jatakas and Avadanas and select texts of folk-literature

Paper VII

Select poetical pieces and extra-canonical texts (Prose and Poetry)

Paper VIII

Comparative study of allied Indian Literature and Essay

Group B Philosophy and Religion

Paper VI

Special philosophical texts from Pali Literature

Paper VII

Special philosophical texts from Buddhist Sanskrit literature and other Sanskrit texts dealing with Buddhist Philosophy

Paper VIII

Comparative Studies in Indian Philosophy and essay

Group C—Epigraphy and History

Paper VI

Special Buddhistic Historical texts, archaeological reports
and records of Buddhist pilgrims.

Paper VII

Select Prakrit Inscriptions

Paper VIII

Select Sanskrit Inscriptions and Essay.

Group D—Mahayana Literature and Philosophy

Paper VI

Select Sanskrit Sutras and Poetical Works.

Paper VII

Special Philosophical and Tantra Texts.

Paper VIII

Buddhism outside India and Essay

Group E—Art and Iconography

Paper VI

Select Buddhist and other Indian Texts dealing with Archi-
tecture, Sculpture and Painting

Paper VII

Select Buddhist Monuments, Reliefs, Images and Frescoes

Paper VIII

Buddhist Art in its origin and development in and outside
India and Essay.

After a few years the following Honorary part-time Lecturers
were appointed by the Selection Committee to carry on the teaching
work of this Department with effect from July 1944 :—

1. Dr. Sadananda Bhaduri, M. A., Ph. D. (Presidency College)
2. Sri Ramaprosad Chaudhuri, M. A., P. R. S. and 3. Sri Anukul
Chandra Banerjee, M. A. B. L. (Part-time Assistant Lecturer).

Sri Shyamsundar Banerjee M. A. of the Vidyasagar College was appointed in 1946 to take classes in the Department in an honorary capacity. Sri Nalininath Das Gupta, who at first joined the University as a Research Fellow under the supervision of Professor B. M. Barua but gradually became a Reader in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, served as honorary Lecturer in the Pali Department till his death in 1966.

Professor B M Barua breathed his last on the 23rd March 1948. The Department suffered irreparable loss at the sad and sudden demise of Dr. Benimadhab Barua who had left a void which it would be difficult to fill in the years to come. His original investigations of far reaching importance in all and sundry branches of Indology and Pali studies placed him in the front rank of the Indologists of international fame. The University still cherishes the memory of the deceased Professor, who was one of the most distinguished scholars that Bengal had ever produced.

On his death Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, M. A., Ph. D, D. Lit, (Lond) succeeded to the Headship ; but the post of Professorship was not then filled up.

1948-1976

Dr Nalinaksha Dutt, who had been the acting Head of the Department since the death of Prof. Barua in March 1948 was appointed University Professor of Pali with effect from the 1st. of December 1949. During the period of his service as Professor for about 9 years (1949-58), the staff had undergone several changes. In the vacancy of a teacher in the Department caused by the expiry of Prof. B M Barua, Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee M. A., LL. B., Ph. D., was appointed University Lecturer in Pali in 1948. Sri Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya of the Presidency College was appointed as an honorary part-time lecturer in 1950. Sri Prabhash Chandra Majumder M. A and Sri Sukumar Sengupta M. A. were appointed Research Fellows for a term of three years under the supervision of Dr. N. Dutt, during the session 1948-49. They not only carried on their research work but also assisted in the teaching work of the Department. Three years later they were also appointed Honorary part-time Lecturers in the Department. Dr. Herambanath Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil, P.R.S. joined the Department of Pali in 1957 as an Honorary Part-time Lecturer. The Department

also received the Honorary services of Dr. Kalyan Kumar Ganguli M.A., D. Phil., P.R.S. (requisitioned from the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture) from the commencement of the session 1955-56 and he was entrusted with the teaching of some special papers relating to Art and Archaeology. After Prof. S. K. Chatterji had left the University, Dr. Sukumar Sen, M. A., Ph. D., Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics, gladly agreed to teach Philology in the Pali classes and he continued his honorary services in the Department till he retired in 1964, Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee was awarded the Ghosh Travelling Fellowship for the year 1955-56 and was deputed to Burma to make an intensive study of Abhidhamma. On his return from Burma he was promoted to the post of a Reader created for the first time in the Department of Pali in 1957.

Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt also devoted his attention to the revision of the Pali Syllabus for the M. A. Examination. Steps were taken in 1952-53 for introducing certain important changes in the Syllabus to meet fresh requirements in various branches of Buddhist studies with special reference to original sources. The notable feature of the Department of Pali during this period was that this was the only Department in the University of Calcutta where provisions were made for the first time to teach at the Post Graduate level important topics relating to the expansion of Indian Culture in North Asia, South-east Asia and Ceylon with special reference to Buddhism incorporated in Group D under the nomenclature 'Asian Buddhism'. The revised syllabus, which came into effect from the examination of 1955, is as follows :—

M. A. Pali Syllabus

- Paper I—Select Pali Canonical Texts (Sutta and Vinaya)
- Paper II—Select Pali Texts on Abhidhamma and Buddhist Sanskrit Texts on Philosophy
- Paper III—Select later Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit Texts and History of Buddhist Literature
- Paper IV—Select portions of original texts on Pali, Sanskrit and Prakrit Grammar and Historical and Comparative Grammar of Pali
- Paper V—Political History, Geography and Religious History

Group A

Early Buddhist Literature and Philosophy

Paper VI—Special Canonical and non-Canonical Texts

Paper VII—Special Texts on Buddhist Philosophy

Paper VIII—Comparative study of Allied Indian Literature and Essay

Group B

Mahāyāna Literature and Philosophy (including Bengal and Orissan Buddhism,

Paper VI—Select Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna Texts

Paper VII—Select Mādhyamika, Yogācāra and Old Bengali texts bearing on Buddhism

Paper VIII—Comparative study of allied Indian religious and philosophical systems—Buddhist, Jaina, Sāṅkhya and Vedānta and Essay

Group C

Epigraphy, Iconography, Art and Archaeology

Paper VI—Select Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions with Palaeography

Paper VII—Buddhist Art and Iconography

Paper VIII—Special Buddhist Historical Records, Archaeological Reports and Ancient Indian Geography.

Group D

Asian Buddhism

Paper VI—Comparative Study of Buddhist Literature in and outside India

Paper VII—Buddhist and allied Culture in Central Asia, China, Japan, Tibet, Indo-China and Indonesia

Paper VIII—Buddhist and Allied Culture in Burma, Siam and Ceylon and Essay

Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt retired from the University service as Professor and Head of the Department in November 1958. On his retirement, Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee was appointed to the Chair

and he continued in that capacity till his retirement in December 1975. During the period of his Professorship the numerical strength of the teaching staff and the students expanded to a considerable extent.

There were several changes in the composition of the staff. The vacant post of Reader, due to the promotion of Prof. A.C. Banerjee, was filled up in 1960 by the appointment of Dr. Biswanath Banerji, M.A., D. Phil (Munich), formerly Lecturer of Visvabharati University, who had returned after his studies from Germany. After a short period of about two years Dr. B. N. Banerji joined the Sanskrit College as Professor of Pali and consequently Sri Sukumar Sen Gupta M.A., Sutta-Visārada (formerly Professor of Pali, Maharaja Manindra Chandra College) was appointed temporary whole-time Lecturer in the chain post in July 1962. On the resignation of Dr. B.N. Banerji, Sri Dwijendra Lal Barua, M.A. was appointed to the post of Reader in the Department in 1965. Sri Sukumar Sen Gupta was also appointed as (permanent) Lecturer in the Department in March 1968.

Rev. Dharmadhar Mahasthavir, Tripiṭaka-Visārada, Principal, Nalanda Vidyabhavana, an oriental scholar in Pali, was appointed as an honorary Part-time Lecturer in 1936 to teach Abhidhamma in the post-Graduate classes of the Pali Department. Dr. Asha Das, M.A., Ph. D., was also appointed honorary Part-time Lecturer in the Department in 1971. Dr. Shyamsundar Banerjee, M.A., D. Lit, who had been serving the Department in honorary capacity since 1946 was appointed in 1970 to the newly created post of Part-time Lecturer with remuneration, sanctioned by the Syndicate for the Department of Pali. The honorary services of Dr. Chinmay Datta, Reader in the Department of Comparative Philology, and Dr. Prabodh Narayan Singh, Reader in Hindi, were also requisitioned by Prof. Banerji in 1963 and 1970 respectively to impart instructions in Paper IV of the Pali Syllabus.

The number of students in the Pali classes had always been small in the past. But the numerical strength of the students comprising the two Post-Graduate classes gradually increased from 7 in 1958-59 to 23 in 1975-76.

Prof. Anukul Chandra Banerjee and Dr. Sukumar Sen Gupta were associated with the Department of Sanskrit for imparting instruc-

tions to the students selecting Groups H (Prakrit) and I (Epigraphy and History) respectively for their specialisation. Sri Prabhash Chandra Majumdar also devoted part of his time in imparting instruction to the students of Ancient Indian History and Culture taking Religious History (Group III) as their special course of study for the M A Examination. After the retirement of Sri Dwijendralal Barua, Dr. Asha Das, M A , Ph D was entrusted with the teaching of Pali in the Department of Modern Indian Languages Sri Prabhash Chandra Majumdar M.A. became the Secretary to the University Colleges of Arts and Commerce but was associated with the Department as a Part-time Lecturer. The vacant post of whole-time Lecturer was filled up in 1968 by the appointment of Dr. Dipak Kumar Barua, M A. Dip. Lib , P R S., Ph. D. who had served the Rabindra Bharati University as the officer-in-Charge of the University Library and UNESCO and also as Lecturer in the Departments of Philosophy and Sanskrit.

The Department had tentatively commenced teaching work in all the groups. Dr. Kanailal Hazra, M. A. LL. B, Dip. Lang , Ph. D. (Ceylon) who, on his return from Ceylon, had been continuing his teaching work in the Department as Pool Officer (1963-71) was appointed in 1971 to the additional post of whole-time Lecturer in Pali sanctioned by the Syndicate for the new subject, "Asian Buddhism" (Group D) introduced into the course of study for the M A. examination in Pali. Sri Dwijendralal Barua, who had served the Department for a pretty long time (for about thirty three years) retired in 1970. On his retirement Sri Prabhash Chandra Majumdar, M A., Sutta-Visarada, was appointed Reader in his place in 1971. But he could not join the Department in that capacity even after his appointment to the post, owing to the pressure of work and responsibility as Secretary which he had to discharge till his death in 1974. The University and no less the Department of Pali suffered a severe loss at the sad and sudden death in November 1974 of Mr. P. C. Majumdar who had served his Alma Mater in different capacities as Lecturer, Secretary, as a member of Senate and subsequently as Reader and who had dedicated his whole life to the cause of welfare of Pali studies with devotion and ardent love for the subject. The vacant post of whole time teacher due to the death of Mr. Majumdar was filled up temporarily in December 1974 by the appointment of Dr. Asha Das, M. A., Ph. D , who had been an honorary Part-time lecturer in the department Dr. Hrishikesh Guha M. A., Ph. D. was also appointed Honorary Part-time Lecturer in 1974.

After the retirement of Prof. A. C. Banerjee in December 1975, the Department was placed in the charge of Dr. Sukumar Sen Gupta who continued to serve as Head of the Department till the end of the session 1975-1976. In the meantime Dr Dipak Kumar Barua was appointed Reader in March 1976 in the vacant post caused by the untimely death of Mr. Prabhash Chandra Majumdar in November 1974.

(1976-1983)

Dr. Sukumar Sen Gupta was succeeded by Dr. Dipak Kumar Barua as Head of the Department in July 1976. After the retirement of Dr. A. C. Banerjee the Professorship was held in abeyance until it was filled up by the appointment of Dr. D. K. Barua as University Professor of Pali in March 1978. During the period of his Headship Dr. Barua concentrated his attention to the progress of the Department in various directions. Immediately after he had been placed in the charge of the Department, he hastened to fill up several vacant posts and to this effect Rev. Dharmapal Bhikshu, Dr. Binayendra Nath Chaudhuri and Dr. Sukomal Chaudhury were appointed as Honorary part-time Lecturers in the Department. The post of a Lecturer was regularised and to this effect Dr. Asha Das was appointed whole-time Lecturer in Pali in September 1976. Dr. Anil Chandra Pal, M. A., Ph. D. (Lond) and Sri Prabal Kumar Sen, M. A., whose services were requisitioned by Dr. Barua from the respective Departments of Archaeology and Philosophy, also joined the Pali Department as Post-graduate teachers during the session 1976-1977. During the period of his Professorship, Dr. Sukumar Sen Gupta was also appointed Reader in April 1979 and he retired from the post in March 1980. It was due to his initiative, Dr. Sen Gupta again joined the Department as Guest-Lecturer in October 1980 and continued his services in that capacity till March 1983. Prof. Barua also initiated the proposal to institute Certificate and Diploma courses in Pali Language and Literature which were introduced in the University during the session 1980-81. A new scheme for the compilation of an Encyclopaedia of Buddhism in Bengali was placed by him to the Syndicate for recommendation to the U.G.C. and in response to this demand a lump grant of Rs. 2000/- has been sanctioned by the U.G.C. for the purpose.

Dr. Kanai Lal Hazra was placed in the Charge of the Department (with Dr. Barua on the Chair) in January 1982 in accordance with the

rotation system adopted by the University in recent times. Since then Dr. Hazra has spared no pains to discharge his duties as Head of the Department (during the short period of about two years). There were several changes in the composition of the staff during this period. Dr. K. L. Hazra was appointed Reader in April 1982 in the vacant post caused by the retirement of Dr. Sen Gupta in March 1980 and Dr. Bela Bhattacharyya M.A, Ph.D., was also appointed as Lecturer in Pali in the same month of the year 1982. The Department has been continuing its steady development towards the Teaching and Research activities since January 1982. Dr. Asha Das (a senior Lecturer in the Department) was appointed Reader as per merit promotion scheme in the month of July 1982, while the services of Dr. Mrinal Kanti Ganguly and Dr. Kshanika Saha were requisitioned by Dr. Hazra from the Departments of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History respectively in order to assist the Department in the teaching work. Dr. Sadhan Chandra Sarkar recently joined the Department as Honorary Guest Lecturer with effect from August 1983 owing to the initiative taken by Dr. K. L. Hazra in this direction.

Steps were also taken by Dr. K. L. Hazra for the implementation of the scheme relating to the compilation of the Encyclopaedia (in Bengali) which had been already sanctioned by the University and the U.G.C. during the Headship of Dr. D. K. Barua. Sm. Sumita Sen Gupta M.A., and Sm. Swapna Raut, M.A. had been engaged in October 1982 for the purpose. They have already prepared some articles for the Encyclopaedia, some of which have been recently published in the form of booklets. Thus the Department has, for the first time, undertaken the work of compilation of an Encyclopaedia of Buddhist learning in Bengali which is progressing satisfactorily with the aid of a few young scholars and some members of the teaching staff. Recently the M. Phil. course has been introduced in the Department and regular classes are being held by the members of the teaching staff.

Research Activities of the Department 1917-1976

Since the inception of the Department the members of the teaching staff had been actively engaged in carrying on their researches on various aspects of Buddhist learning, Epigraphy, art and archaeology with special reference to Buddhism and as a result of their investigations, new windows of knowledge had been opened and new light had been thrown on old subjects already undertaken by some of their contemporaries and also some of their predecessors. It will be evident from the following list of books that valuable contributions were made by the members of the Department to the enrichment of our knowledge in the field of Buddhism and allied culture of ancient India and their works certainly reflect on the credit of the Department. The list is not exhaustive but only illustrative.

The most outstanding contribution of Dr. B M. Barua to Philosophical studies is represented by his pioneer work entitled 'A History of the Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy' (Thesis for D. Litt. degree of the University of London) which was published by the Calcutta University in 1921.

Dr. Barua is the first Indian Scholar who made a fair attempt to trace the History of Indian Philosophy from the Vedic period to the age of Buddha and Mahāvira on the basis of the data collected from the early Vedic, Pali and Prakrit literature, as also from the Epics and other Sanskrit texts Besides numerous research papers contributed to different antiquarian journals. he is the author of more than a dozen books on the diverse subjects, some of which may be mentioned here, as follows :— The Ājavikas, Gayā and Buddhagayā (2 Vols.), Barhut (Illustrated monographs in three Volumes), Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, Asoka and his Inscriptions (Part I and II), Inscriptions of Asoka (Translation and Glossary), Philosophy of progress, etc

Sri Nalini Nath Das Gupta M. A., who had been appointed Research fellow to work under Prof. Barua in 1937, collected materials for the subject, 'History of Buddhism in Bengal' and to this effect his well-known work in Bengali entitled 'Bāṅglāya Bauddha Dharma' was published in 1948. He also contributed the Chapters

on Buddhism (C. A.D. 1000-1200) to volume V of the History and Culture of the Indian people edited by R. C. Majumdar.

Sri Devaprasad Guha, M. A. Vinaya-Visārada, a Research Scholar (1945-1948) in the Department under the supervision of Prof. B. M. Barua, worked on an interesting subject relating to metrical study in Pali literature. He published a few papers on 'Pali Metres in the Jātakas' in some research journals (J. R. A. S. B. I. C., A. B. O. R. S. etc.) where he pointed out some salient features of Pali metrical verses bearing close similarity with those of the Vedic and early epic versifications. Thus like his predecessors Arnold and Hopkins contributing a great deal to the study of Vedic and Epic metres, Prof. D. P. Guha had already made some distinct contribution to our knowledge of Pali Prosody before other scholars entered into this particular branch of Pali learning. In another of his article entitled "A few knotty points in the Mahāvamsa account of the Second Buddhist Council" (Indian Culture, Vol. X) he made an attempt to diffuse new light on the site of the council and the number of monks participating in the Council. He also edited the Sutta-Saṃgaha in collaboration with Sri R. P. Chowdhury.

Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt, who was a recognised authority on Mahāyāna Buddhism, published his magnum opus "Some Aspects of the Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hinayāna" (Thesis for D. Litt, London University) in 1930. He is the author of several books on Buddhist studies, some of which are :— Early History of the spread of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools, Early Monastic Buddhism (2 Vols.), Three Principal Schools of Buddhism, etc. The most notable contribution of Dr. Dutt to Buddhist studies is the publication of serial volumes under the title Gilgit Manuscripts, comprising some Mahāyāna texts and a portion of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya which were edited by him with the assistance of Pandit Shiv Nath Sastri.

Sri Prabhash Chandra Majumder, M. A., Suttavisārada, a Research Fellow (1948-1951) under the supervision of Prof. Dutt, edited and published a Mahāyāna text entitled the 'Maitreya Vyākaraṇa' on the basis of the Gilgit Mss. and Tibetan sources. Sri Sukumar Sen Gupta, M. A., Suttavisārada, another Research Fellow (1949-1952) under the guidance of Dr. Dutt, collected materials for the subject "Medicine and Surgery in Ancient India" from the Buddhist

and Jain sources. He published an original paper on the 'Use of Injections in Ancient India' (on the basis of the Buddhist and Jain texts) in a research journal (Calcutta Orientalists) in 1975. His Doctoral Thesis entitled 'Buddhism in South-east Asia' is awaiting publication.

Sri Sailendra Nath Mitra, M.A., who acquired an excellent mastery of Pali literature and language, evinced a keen interest in the study of Asokan Inscriptions and contributed a number of articles to research journals and periodicals (I.H.Q. ; I.C., J.D.L., I.A.) throwing new light on the interpretations of some technical words and phrases, identification of some textual references and solution of some disputant points occurring in the inscriptions of Asoka, purely on the basis of literary evidences furnished by Pali texts. He also prepared an edition of the Prakrit Dhammapada in collaboration with Dr. B. M. Barua which was published in 1921 by the Calcutta University. Another publication of the University (1935) is the most popular text on Pali Grammar entitled 'Bālāvatāra' which was also revised and edited by him with English and Bengali translations along with some notes on technical terms.

Sri Gokul Das De, M. A., made an intensive study on the Jātaka literature and the Pali Vinaya Texts. The results of his investigation in this direction were embodied in his works entitled "Significance and importance of Jātakas" and "Democracy in the Early Buddhist Saṅgha" which were published by the University in 1951 and 1953 respectively.

Sri Dwijendra Lal Barua M.A., another veteran scholar in Pali, edited the "Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā" which was published by the Pali Text Society in 1939. His best contribution to the study of Pali language has been represented by the publication of his 'Pali Grammar' from the Board of Secondary Education which has gained popularity not only among the students but also other persons who are interested in the study of this language.

Prof. Anukul Chandra Banerjee, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., is an eminent scholar of great repute who has devoted himself ardently and sincerely to the study and investigations in the field of Buddhist learning. He has made valuable contributions to our knowledge of Buddhist Sanskrit literature which have been appreciated by reputed scholars in

India and abroad. The first fruit of his investigations in the domain of Buddhist literature was a volume on 'Sarvāstivāda Literature' (Thesis for Ph. D. Degree,) which was published by the Calcutta Oriental Press in 1957. Besides this pioneer work on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, he has published a number of books of Buddhist interest, some of which may be mentioned in this connection. They are as follows : (1) Buddhism in India and Abroad (1973) (2) Buddha O Bauddha Dharma (Bengali) (3) Buddhism in China, (4) Two Buddhist Vinaya Texts in Sanskrit and the like.

Prof. Anukul Chandra Banerjee was associated with the Department till December 1975 and during the period he occupied the Chair, satisfactory progress was made in the research activities of the Department. He succeeded in training a number of research scholars with a spirit of research, who carried on their research works in various branches of Buddhist learning. He encouraged all earnest workers in the field of research by personally supervising their work, assisting them in their difficulties and guiding them in their investigations whenever necessary. As a result of his encouragement and direct supervision more than twenty young scholars have so far been awarded the Ph. D Degree by the University of Calcutta on their respective Thesis. It is noteworthy that Dr. Binayendra Nath Chaudhuri was the first candidate who submitted his thesis (after a gap of fifteen years since 1945) under the supervision of Prof. Banerjee and was awarded in 1960 the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (D. Phil) according to new rules and regulations of the University framed for the Doctor's degree. It should be also mentioned that Dr. Asha Das was the first lady student of the Department who submitted her Thesis under the guidance of Dr. A C. Banerjee and the University conferred on her the D. Phil. (Ph.D.) degree in 1966. Incidentally it may be noted that the English translation of the Dutch work entitled "Hindee-Javancho Goschiodonis" by Dr. N. J. Krom had been sent during this period to the Calcutta University Press which had taken up the work for publication.

Prof. Banerjee had been elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts in March, 1969. He also acted for some time as the President of the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education.

(1976-1983)

The members of the Teaching staff belonging to the Department of Pali have, apart from taking their usual classes and guiding the work of research scholars, contributed independently a great deal to the extension of our knowledge in the field of Buddhism and Buddhist culture by bringing out books, articles and brochures and this will be evident from the list of some of their publications inserted below. :—

Professor Dipak Kumar Barua, M.A., P.R.S, Ph.D., Dip. Lib.

- Books : (1) An Analytical Study of the Four Nikāyas (1971)
(2) Vihāras in Ancient India : A Survey of Buddhist Monasteries (1969)
(3) Buddha Gaya Temple—Its History (2nd edition, 1981)
(4) Anāgārika Dharmapāla—A study (1964),
(5) Buddhist Art of Central Asia (1981)

He also edited the Jagajyoti (a Buddha Jayanti Annual) from 1970-1975,

Rev. Dharmadhar Mahasthavir published the Bengali Translations of the Pali Texts—Majjhimanikāya, II, Sāsanavaṃsa and Milindapañha. Rev. Dharmapal Mahathera also brought out his translation work (in Bengali) entitled 'Jātaka Nidāna' (1369).

Dr. Kanai Lal Hazra, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Dip. Lang.

- Books : (1) History of Theravāda Buddhism in South-east Asia (1982), (2) Royal Patronage of Buddhism in Ancient India (1983), (3) Buddhism in India as described by the Chinese Pilgrims (1983), (4) The Buddhist Annals and Chronicles of South-East Asia (in the Press)

Dr. Asha Das, M.A., Ph.D.,

- Books : (1) Bāṅglā Sāhitye Bauddha Dharma O Saṃskṛiti (1969); (2) Bauddha Dharma O Rabindranath (1968) ; (3) Trīśer Saśastra Abhyutthān

Dr. Kshanika Saha, M.A., Ph. D,

- (1) Buddhism and Buddhist Literature in Central Asia (Ph.D., Thesis), published in 1970

Besides the above research publications, they have contributed a good number of articles to various Research journals. They are also taking active interest in supervising Research scholars enrolled for Ph. D. degree. A good number of scholars have already been admitted to the Ph. D. degrees of our University under the supervision of Dr. Sukumar sen Gupta, Prof. D. K. Barua, Dr. P. N. Singh and Dr. Kanai Lal Hazra.

Prof. Dipak Kumar Barua made an extensive travel in different parts of the globe in order to attend seminars and conferences held on different occasions. He attended the first International Buddhist Youth Conference held in Bangkok (Thailand) under the auspices of UNESCO and World Fellowship of Buddhists in 1976. He was delegated by the University to attend the International Conference on Indian Ocean Studies sponsored by the University of Western Australia and Western Australian Institute of Technology held at Perth, Western Australia in 1980. He also attended the International Conference on Buddhist Studies held, under the auspices of International Association of Buddhist Studies, at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, U.S A, in 1981. He was invited by the Japan Foundation, Tokyo, as a fellow (from July to September, 1982) and he delivered lectures in the University of Tokyo, Reiyukoku University of Kyoto, Nagoya University and in the Annual general meeting of the "Society for the promotion of Pali and Buddhist Civilization in Japan, Nagoya" on various aspects of Buddhism. Prof. Barua also left for Bangladesh on an invitation by the National Committee for the celebration of 1000th Birth Anniversary of Atiśa Dīpaṅkara to attend the meetings on the occasions held in Dhaka and Chittagong in February and March respectively in 1983. He also presided over the sessions of the seminars on Buddhism at Varanasi and Buddha Gaya.

Prof. D. K. Barua has been also rendering his services as Post-graduate Teacher in the Departments of Sanskrit and Library Science since 1976.

Dr. Shyamsundar Banerji, M A., D Lit. and Dr. Aṣṭa Das, M.A., Ph D., were invited by the organisers of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Saṁmelan to attend the Annual Conference held in Port Blair (Andaman) in 1979 where they delivered lectures on some interesting topics relating to Bengali language and literature.

Under-Graduate Classes in Pāli

Besides the post-graduate teaching and research, the University made arrangements also for teaching Pali, Arabic and Persian at the Undergraduate level (from Matriculation to B. A. Honours stages) for which facilities were not available in the affiliated schools and most of the colleges in Calcutta. Accordingly Instructors were also appointed by the University. Besides the teaching work of the M.A. Students, some of the teachers of the Post-graduate Department undertook responsibility for teaching Pali, Arabic and Persian in the Under-graduate classes in conjunction with the Instructors appointed specially for the Under-graduate Department. The Undergraduate classes in Pali were started in 1912 and the University received the services of the learned monk Samana Punnanda, Vice-President, Bengal Buddhist Association, Calcutta, who agreed to act as Junior University Lecturer in Pali in order to encourage the study of the subject in the Undergraduate level. In consideration of the large number of students to be taught by him, Babu Benimadhab Barua, B.A. (Hons. in Pali) was also appointed Lecturer in the subject to assist him in the discharge of his duties with effect from the 1st of August, 1913. (C.U. Minutes, V, 1913, p. 1810).

Subsequently, Mr. Mukunda Behari Mallik and Mr. Mahendra Kumar Ghosh were appointed Instructors in Pali for the Under-graduate classes in 1914 and 1916 respectively. The Under-graduate classes in Pali were held in the University under the auspices of the Board of Higher Studies in Pali and the management of these classes was assigned to the Standing Committee formed for this purpose. The following resolutions were adopted in the meeting of the Board of Higher Studies, dated, the 10th May, 1919. (Proceedings of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching, 1919, C.U., pp 102-103)

“The Board met to consider the arrangements for the Under-Graduate Classes in Pali during the ensuing session, as the Syndicate had requested the Board to undertake the management of these Classes.

i) That the official routine matters such as collection of fees, issue of certificates, be entrusted to the Post-Graduate Office in the same manner as in the case of Post-Graduate Classes.

ii) That the teaching work of the Under-graduate Classes be entrusted to a staff composed partly of Post-Graduate teachers and partly of teachers specially appointed for the purpose.

lii) That the undermentioned members of the Post-Graduate teaching staff be selected for this work during the session 1919-20 :—

Dr. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D Litt; Babu Sailendranath Mitra, M.A, Babu Nalinaksha Datta, M. A, Samana Punnananda, Babu Gokuldas De, M.A., Swami R Siddhartha.

iv) That the undermentioned gentlemen be appointed teachers for the Under-Graduate Classes during the session 1919-20 on a remuneration of Rs. 100 a month each :—

Babu Mukundabihari Mallik, M. A., Babu Mahendrakumar Ghosh, M. A.

vi) That an honorarium of Rs. 300 a year be fixed for the remuneration of the following gentlemen :-

Dr. B. M. Barua ; Mr. S. N. Mitra. Mr. N. Datta ; Mr. G. D. De ; Rev. R. Sidhartha.

vii) That the following Standing Committee be appointed to manage the work of the Under-graduate Classes :

The Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, President ; Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Satischandra Vidyahhushan ; Dr. B. M Barua ; Mr. S. N. Mitra ; Mr. N. Datta ; Samana Punnananda ; Mr. G D. De ; Rev. R Siddhartha ; Mr. M. B. Mallik ; Mr. M. K. Ghosh.

viii) That the following scale of monthly tuition fee be adopted :

Matriculation Classes	Re. 1
Intermediate Classes	Rs. 1-8
B. A Classes (Pass)	Rs. 2
B. A. Classes (Hons.)	Rs. 2-8

Resolved

That the Proceeding be confirmed.”

For nearly 20 years these classes were maintained for the benefit of Under-graduate students eager to learn Pali. But as gradually suitable arrangements were made in different affiliated schools and colleges, the University gave up its own efforts in this direction. Accordingly the Under-graduate Pali classes were abolished in 1932.

Certificate and Diploma Courses in Pali

For the benefit of Research scholars, teachers and other interested persons, Pali was also included as an independent subject in the curriculum for the Certificate and Diploma Examinations during the session 1979-1980. Accordingly, it was due to the initiative taken up in this direction by Dr. Dipak Kumar Barua, Professor and Head of the Department of Pali that the University authorities made arrangements for holding Certificate and Diploma classes in Pali during the academic session 1980-81. The first batch of students, appearing at the Certificate Course Examination, came out successful in 1981 and one of them, Srimati Anjali Gupta (Mrs. Ray), M.A. was placed in the First Class. The following Post-Graduate teachers have been serving as Honorary Instructors in Pali even at a partial sacrifice of their time since the commencement of the session 1980-81 —Prof. Heramba Nath Chatterji, Dr. Sukumar Sen Gupta, Dr. Asha Das and Dr. Probodh Narain Singh

PALI STUDIES IN THE AFFILIATED COLLEGES

Rangoon College

Amongst the various academic institutions affiliated to the Calcutta University it was the Govt. Rangoon College where Pali was introduced for the first time as a subject of study included in the University Curricula for the Entrance, F.A., and B.A. Examinations. The Government High School at Rangoon was partially raised to the status of a college by the opening of a college department which was affiliated up to the F.A. standard in 1879. Suitable arrangements were made for imparting lessons in Pali upto the F.A. standard in response to the demand of the students interested in the study of this classical language. This was the earliest occasion when the post of a Professor of Pali was created for the first time in the history of Pali studies in the University of Calcutta and was filled up in 1880 by the appointment of an eminent scholar like Dr E. Forchammer, the pioneer of Burmese antiquities, who dedicated his life to the cause of the promotion of education and learning in Burma. Four years later the college Department was separated from the school and was further affiliated upto the B.A. Standard with effect from 1st of April, 1883 and thus this Govt. Institution at Rangoon was converted into

a full-fledged First-Grade college (C.U. Minutes of the Syndicate 1884-85, P. 57). Prof. Forchammer continued his teaching work in Pali in the F.A. and B.A. classes till 1890. Next, Mr. James Gray was appointed in his place as Lecturer in Pali. He was the author of a series of popular hand books on Elementary Pali Grammar (First, Second and Third Pali courses) and he also edited the Jinālaṅkāra and the Niti Literature of Burma. He served the College for more than fifteen years discharging his duties as Lecturer in Pali to the entire satisfaction of the students and the college authorities.

The College was exceptionally fortunate in securing the services of so eminent an archaeologist and a Pali scholar as Mon. Charles Duroiselle. After studying Pali in Ceylon and Burma he joined the Rangoon College as Lecturer in November, 1905 and subsequently became Professor of Pali. He published a number of books connected with Pali studies, viz.—(1) *Rupasiddhi*, a Pali Grammar edited in Burmese Character, (2) *Jinacarita* (Text, Translation and notes), (3) *A Practical Grammar of the Pali language*. Prof. Duroiselle could not continue the teaching profession for a long time. He went on deputation on the 24th July, 1912 and the teaching strength of the college, which had been already affiliated in Pali Honours, was for the time being affected to some extent by the transfer of Mr. C. Duroiselle from the college to the Archaeological Department. The inefficiency in this regard was however, remedied to some extent by the appointment of another distinguished scholar, Mr. Pe Maung Tin, M.A. as Professor of Pali.

Prof. Pe Maung Tin translated the *Atthasālinī* (The Expositor) and the *Visuddhimagga* (The Path of Purity) of Buddhaghosa into English which were published by the Pali Text Society in 1920-21 and 1927 respectively.

The deficiency of the staff was also made up by the appointment of Ahmed Cassim, B. A. (Hons. in Pali) in the place of Maung Po Lon, Lecturer in Pali, who took leave from the 14th November, 1912 and thus the Pali Department was in full working order. The college made remarkable progress in Pali studies and the results of the Honours Examinations in Pali were most satisfactory during the first three consecutive years from the commencement of its affiliation in Pali Honours. The college passed two students with Honours in Pali in 1910 (one being placed in the first class), three in 1911 and two in 1912.

Baptist College

This Institution had grown out of a school which was established by the American Baptist Missionary Union in 1872 and recognised by the Calcutta University in the year 1882. It was affiliated to the University as a Second grade college in May 1894 and provision was further made in this Baptist Mission College (later on known as Judson College) for the teaching of Pali upto the F.A standard. Rev. David Gilmore M.A. who first joined the High school in 1890, taught Pali in the College during the two years 1894 and 1895. After Mr Gilmore had left the College as Professor of Pali, Rev. W. St. John, B.A., was entrusted with the teaching of Pali at the College, as Rev. J.F. Smith had gone home on furlough to qualify himself to teach Pali. Afterwards the College authorities desired to secure for this Institution affiliation upto the B.A. standard with the object of imparting higher education to the people of Rangoon. Accordingly, it was raised to the status of a Firstgrade Arts College, in Rangoon in June 1909. As Pali gradually became a popular subject among the local students, the College was affiliated in Pali upto the B.A. Pass course (along with Philosophy Honours standard) with effect from the session 1913-14 (C U. Minutes 1908 Pt II pp. — 555 ; C. U. Minutes, 1913 Pt. V P 1660). The names of the persons who served the College in subsequent years as Lecturers and Professors of Pali deserve mention in this connection. They are, as follows :—Rev. H.H. Silbe, Mr L. Hoke Sein, Mr. C. Sherling, Mr. S. N. Mitra, Mr. N. Dutt, and Mr. R P. Chowdhury.

Chittagong College

This Institution grew out of a Zilla school which had been founded in 1836 and was raised by the Government to a college up to the F.A. standard in 1869. The College was the only academic institution outside Calcutta where provision was made for the first time in response to the local demand for a systematic teaching of Pali up to the F. A. standard as early as 1904. Rev. U. Dhammavamsa (Prankrishna Bhikṣu) who had returned from Burma after acquiring a thorough knowledge in Pali, joined the school at first as a teacher of Pali on the first of March 1904.

But he was regarded by the College authorities as competent to teach the subject beyond the Entrance stage and so he was also entrusted with the teaching of Pali as Lecturer in the College Classes. This Buddhist monk, a learned scholar in Pali, dedicated his life to the cause of dissemination of Pali learning among the young students

With the raising of the College to the status of a First grade one the deficiency in the Pali staff was at once made up by the appointment of an additional Professor of Pali. Mr. Mahimaranjan Baruya who graduated from the Presidency College with Honours in Pali in 1908, joined the College as Professor of Pali on the 5th July, 1910. As there had been a distinct demand in course of a few years for Honours teaching in Pali among the students and the guardians, an attempt was made by the College authorities to have the College affiliated in Pali (along with other subjects) up to the B. A. Honours standard. But the two existing Professors of Pali who had not studied Pali up to the M. A. standard, were not regarded by the University as competent to teach the subject up to the Honours stage. We may quote here the relevant opinion of the University Inspectors from their Report on the College :—“The College may be affiliated in Honours Pali, after one of the two men has taken the degree of M.A. in Pali at the Calcutta University. Pali is extremely popular in Chittagong where the population is largely Buddhistic. In the quiet monasteries not far, enough supplementary teaching is possible to be and as a matter of fact is obtained. This makes it all the more obligatory that the Pali staff should be strengthened by at least one of the Professors being an M.A. in Pali” (C.U. Minutes, 1913 Part V, pp 1730—1749).

The College was duly affiliated in Pali up to the B.A. Honours standard and the teaching strength of the College in this subject was enhanced after Prof. M. R. Barua had been admitted to the M.A. degree in Pali in 1913

Rev U Dhammavamsa had served the College as Lecturer in Pali for more than two decades—a service of selfless dedication and devotion. After his retirement, Mr. Hirendra Lal Sen Gupta M.A. (Gold Medalist) was appointed Lecturer in his place on the 25th November, 1927. Mr Nirmal Chandra Barua, M.A. (of the City College and the Collegiate school) officiated from time to time as Lecturer in Pali in the place of Prof. M. R. Barua who often went abroad on furlough.

On the retirement of Professor Barua, Mr. Hirendra Lal Sen Gupta officiated as Professor of Pali and Mr. Saroj Bhusan Barua, M.A. was appointed temporary Lecturer in Pali in 1941 in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Professor M. R. Barua. This chain post was finally filled up in 1943 by the appointment of Mr. Promode Ranjan Barua, M.A. (Gold Medalist) as Lecturer in Pali in the place of Mr. Saroj Bhusan Barua resigned.

Presidency College

It was the Presidency College where Pali Classes up to B.A. Honours stage were started for the first time in Calcutta in 1906 or thereabouts. But it is noteworthy that there was no separate Department for Pali studies in the college. It was included in the Department of Sanskrit. No teacher (Professor or Lecturer) was appointed exclusively for this subject. Teachers, having double M.A. degrees in Sanskrit and Pali or having special proficiency in Pali or Prakrit, were considered competent to teach the subject and they were entrusted with the teaching of Pali in the four classes up to the B.A. Honours standard. The college availed itself of the best opportunity of utilising the services of an exceptionally gifted Professor like Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Satish Chandra Acharyya, Vidyabhushan, for this subject. He was the only Professor of Pali. During the first few years since its commencement, Pali classes had not been formed in the first and second year classes and there had been exceedingly small classes confined only to the Pass and Honours stages of the Degree Course. So Prof. Vidyabhushan gladly undertook the teaching work of Pali besides his usual Sanskrit classes. The results of this college at the B.A. Honours Examinations in Pali from year to year in the past were unique in the history of Pali studies. The college passed one student with Honours in Pali in 1908, two in 1909 and one with first class Honours in 1910. It is significant that Mahimaranjan Barua was the first candidate of the Calcutta University who obtained Honours (Second Class) in Pali for the first time in 1908 and Sailendra Nath Mitra who belonged to the second batch of students appearing at the Pali Honours Examination in 1910 (under the new regulations) stood first in the First class from the Presidency College. Prof. Vidyabhushan continued his duties as Professor of Pali and Sanskrit in this college till he assumed charge of the Principalship of the Sanskrit College.

Next, it was Prof. Nilmani Chakravarty M. A. who took up the responsibility of imparting lessons in Pali to the Intermediate and B. A. students of the college during the session 1909-1910. It was difficult for one man to teach the whole course of Pali efficiently and fully in the four classes up to the B. A. Honours standard. But the number of pupils in the Pali classes had been small for quite a number of years and so the actual amount of teaching work did not overtax the strength of any member of the teaching staff in Pali. Prof. Chakravarty, notwithstanding, managed to keep the small classes in Pali working up to the B.A. (Honours) standard by taking recourse from time to time to the system of combining the 1st and 2nd and more especially the 3rd and 4th year classes. But gradually Pali became a popular subject. There had been in fact a steady increase in the number of students studying Pali in both the Intermediate and B. A. Classes. Mr. Sadananda Bhaduri, M. A. Lecturer in Sanskrit was also associated with the teaching work of Pali, after he had obtained the M. A. Degree in Pali in 1927. Prof. Nilmani Chakravarty (Joint-author of a Pali Grammar with Sri M. K. Ghosh), who served the college for almost quarter of a century, retired in 1933.

The Pali students of the two topmost classes (during 1933-1940) in the Presidency College were fortunate in having Dr. Radhagobinda Basak, M.A., Ph D. as their Teacher who was a Sanskritist by virtue of his academic attainment but a profound scholar in Pali and Prakrit by choice. Dr. Basak joined the College in July 1933 as Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages. In addition to his usual duties as Professor of Sanskrit, he used to hold regular classes in Pali (Pass and Honours) for the benefit of the Degree students till he retired in December 1940. After the retirement of Prof. Basak, Dr. Sadananda Bhaduri remained as the only Professor of Pali to take charge of the whole teaching of the subject in the four classes. But as the numerical strength of the Pali students gradually diminished within five or six years during the war period, Prof. Bhaduri managed to maintain the continuance of Pali studies in the College for a few years more without the aid of any additional Lecturer for the subject. Prof. Bhaduri continued his services in the College until he was transferred to the Sanskrit College as its Principal. Mr. Hirendra Lal Sen Gupta, M. A., of the Chittagong College, who offered his option to serve under the Government of West Bengal, joined the Presidency College during 1947-1948 and

acted for some time as Professor of Pali. Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A. (Sans), who was admitted to the M A. degree in Pali in 1943, also taught Pali in the Degree classes for a few hours a week till he was transferred to the Sanskrit College as assistant Professor of Sanskrit.

In course of time the Government and the authorities of the Presidency College felt that Pali classes might be discontinued in the Presidency College premises without causing any detriment to the interest of the Pali students. Pali studies were, however, maintained indirectly in the College with the aid of the Lecturers in the Sanskrit College. This system has been in vogue for the last three decades. At present the students of the Presidency College who offer Sanskrit or Pali are to attend lectures in that subject at the Sanskrit College.

Sanskrit College

The institution enjoys the unique distinction of being the only College in the entire jurisdiction of the Calcutta University which has made adequate provisions for the teaching of Pali upto the B.A. Honours standard. Before the formation of the nucleus of the Pali department in this College, Pali Classes were held occasionally in order to meet the requirements of the Presidency College with the aid of some members of the teaching staff belonging to the Sanskrit Department who were considered competent to teach Pali upto the Honours standard. But as this arrangement was considered inadequate for the progress of so important a subject like Pali, Dr. Gourinath Sastri, the then Principal of the College, decided to make Pali an independent discipline and arranged to set up a separate Department for Pali studies on Honours level. The nucleus of the Department was formed in the beginning with the aid of Mr. Binayendra Nath Chaudhuri M A who was appointed in 1959 as whole-time Lecturer in Pali for Presidency College but posted at Sanskrit College. - Within a few years the post of a Professor was created and two posts for lectureship were also sanctioned by the Government of West Bengal because of the untiring efforts of Principal, G. N Sastri. Dr. Biswanath Banerji, M A., D. Phil (Munick), joined the College as Professor of Pali in July 1962. Subsequently, Mr. Sukomal Chaudhuri, M A., Tripiṭaka-Viśārada and Mr Sadhan Chandra Sarkar, M.A., were also appointed Lecturers in 1964 and 1966 respectively. After Prof. Banerjee had left the College to undertake Professorship of the

Viśvabharati University, Dr. H. N. Chatterji took the charge as Head of the Department. The post of Professor was held in abeyance. Dr. Chatterji was appointed as Professor in 1968. He has been continuing his services in that capacity uptil now Dr. B. N. Chaudhuri, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Dr. Sukomal Chaudhury, M.A., Ph.D., Tripiṭaka-Viśārada, and Dr. Sadhan Chandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D., were also promoted in due course as Assistant Professors in the Department.

In course of the last two decades the Department has achieved remarkable success under the efficient headship of Prof. H. N. Chatterjee in collaboration with the three Assistant Professors. The results of the University examinations have been proved to be most satisfactory. From year to year batches of students have been coming out as successful Honours Graduates in Pali, some of whom being placed in the First Class and winning even University Jubilee and National scholarships, almost without any break, since the inception of the Department.

The Departmental teachers are also not lagging behind in research activities. Teachers in the Department in addition to their usual lecture work in the classes, have undertaken researches on various topics relating to Pali and Buddhist studies. They have already published the results of their investigations in the form of books and articles, some of which may be referred to in this connection. Prof. Herambanath Chatterji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph. D. (Cal), D. Phil (Oxon), D.Sc. (Budapest), is a profound scholar in Sanskrit and Pali. His devotion to his subjects, to which he had already made notable contributions, is remarkable. Besides his published works on Hindu Law and Sociology, he also brought out a number of books on Pali and Buddhist studies, viz., Pali and Sanskrit Alaṅkāra (1960), Mūlamādhyaṃika Kārikā (some chapters edited with English translation), Baudha-Darśana (in Sanskrit, The Philosophy of Nāgārjuna as contained in the Ratnāvali (1977), and Bauddhācāryasanmata Svārthānumāner Saṃkṣipta Ālocanā in Bengali (1983). Dr. B. N. Chaudhury, the seniormost Asstt. Professor, also published his Thesis entitled 'Buddhist Centres in Ancient India' in 1973. He also edited the work entitled 'Studies in Buddhism' (containing select articles of Dr B. M. Barua) which was published in 1975. His recent work entitled "Abhidhamma Terminology in the Rūparūpavibhāga" has been just published (1983) from the Sanskrit College. Dr. Sukomal Chaudhuri,

Assistant Professor in the Department, published his Thesis on "Analytical study of the Abhidharmakāṣa" from the Sanskrit College in 1976. He is also the author of two other works entitled *Vijñapti-mātratāsiddhi* (edited with Bengali translation and notes) and "Buddhism and Buddhist culture of Bānglādes̥h" (in Bengali) which were published in 1975 and 1973 respectively. Dr. Sukomal Chaudhury went to Japan in 1980 with a fellowship from Japan Society for the promotion of science. During his sojourn in different Universities, he delivered lectures on Pali and Buddhist philosophy. During his short stay in Japan (August 1980 to May 1981) he wrote an interesting brochure entitled 'Buddhist Studies in West Bengal' (incorporated in the Journal known as "Essays on the Pali and Buddhist Civilization") and it was published from Tokyo in 1982. This monograph is a mine of informations relating to the diffusion of Pali and Buddhist learning as well as research activities of the scholars devoted to Buddhist studies all over Bengal (inclusive of Bangladesh). Dr. S. Chowdhury is also the author of the work entitled "Contemporary Buddhism in Bangladesh" (1982). Dr. Sadhan Chandra Sarkar, another Assistant Professor of the Department, also published his Thesis entitled 'A Study on the Jātakas and Avadānas' in 1981. Besides this, he has contributed several original papers to various journals relating to some interesting aspects of Buddhism and Buddhist literature.

Lastly, a reference ought to be made to the Centre for 'A Critical PALI Dictionary' (C.P.D. Centre) which was allowed to be instituted in the College premises by the Ex-Principal Gaurinath Sastri whose intense regard for Indian culture and constant solicitude for the welfare and repute of the Sanskrit College fostered the growth of Pali studies in this institution. This is the only Indian centre for the compilation of the Critical Pali Dictionary sponsored by the Royal Danish Academy, Copenhagen and financed by the Government of India. This C.P.D. Centre accommodated in the Sanskrit College has been functioning since its inception with the help and active co-operation of the Pali Professors of the College and hence it may be treated as a temporary adjunct of the Pali Department. The three Assistant Professors, Dr. B. N. Chaudhury, Dr. Sukomal Chaudhury and Dr. Sadhan Chandra Sarkar have been discharging their duties for about fifteen years as collaborators under the supervision of Prof. H. N. Chatterjee, the Director of the C.P.D. Centre in India. A huge

mass of scheduled articles had been prepared for the purpose during this period. Besides the already printed articles, some are awaiting publication and some are being made ready for the press. The recent appointment of three more Research Assistants has given further impetus to the work of the Centre in this line. These three new Entrants, Smt. Manikuntala Halder (Mrs. De), M.A., (University Gold Medalist and Kamalrani Gold Medalist), Sri Chittaranjan Patra, M.A., (Gold Medalist) and Smt. Alaka Tapaswi, M.A. are regularly assisting the Collaborators in the conduct of their compilation work and also preparing articles under the fostering care and supervision of Prof. H. N. Chatterji. Dr. Sukumar Sen Gupta has recently joined the Centre as an additional collaborator and he is also engaged in the preparation of articles for the Dictionary.

A special feature of the C.P.D. Centre is its attractive Library which contains a complete set of P.T.S. and Devnagari editions of the Pali texts (canonical and non-canonical) with the available English translations, a few Pali texts in Sinhalese, Siamese, and Burmese scripts, Pali and Sanskrit Dictionaries (hitherto published), and the standard works of research value on ancient Indian History, Philology, and Archaeology. Prof. Chatterjee, the Director of the Centre, has spared no pains to equip the small Library with almost all the available books required for the Dictionary work.

Thus a full-fledged separate Department for Pali learning emerged out of its small existence due to the active support of the Government and patronage of the Ex-Principal, Dr. Sastri and it was for the first time that a separate entity for Pali studies (in full form) was set up in a Government Institution in Calcutta like the Sanskrit College which in the past was mainly confined to Sanskrit studies. The Pali Department as a whole should remain grateful to Dr. Gauri Nath Bhattacharya, Sastri M.A., D. Lit., P.R.S., for his invaluable services rendered to the cause of advancement of learning in Pali, which remind one of some of the beneficial measures adopted by the late Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar for the progress of studies in Sanskrit.

We should further note in this connection that Prof. H. N. Chatterji, Dr. Sukomal Chaudhury and Dr. Sadhan Chandra Sarkar are attached to the Departments of Sanskrit and Pali in the University of Calcutta as Post-Graduate Teachers. Dr. Binayendra Nath Chaudhury is also rendering his services as Lecturer in the Department of Pali

Incidentally it should be mentioned that Dr. Biswanath Banerjee, M.A., Dr. Phil (Munich) had been associated with the C.P.D. Centre as Director for some consecutive years since its inception. But later on, he ceased to be its Director on the score of various responsible duties that were to be discharged by him as a Professor of the Visvabharati University at Santiniketan.

During the succeeding years the Pali Department of the College attained considerable development in the sphere of Teaching and Research activities, owing much to the warm support and encouragement of Principal Bishnupada Bhattacharyya, M. A., P. R. S., who retired from his services in February 1983. Dr. Muniswar Jha, M. A., D. Lit. (Paris), now the Director of Public Instruction, Govt. of West Bengal, also used to take active interest in the furtherance of Pali studies during the short tenure of his services in the capacity of Principal of the College.

It is a matter of great pleasure that Prof. Heramba Nath Chatterji has been recently appointed as Principal of the College. It is expected that the Department of Pali studies will maintain its reputation and will gradually progress under the stewardship of Dr. Chatterji as Principal and an ardent lover of Oriental learning.

Vidyasagar College (Formerly Metropolitan Institution)

Next to the Chittagong College, Metropolitan Institution ranked as the second college in Bengal, where Pali was introduced as a subject of study upto the B. A. (Pass) standard under the auspices of the Governing Body and also Mr. Sarada Ranjan Ray, the Vice-Principal of the College. Pandit Amulya Charan Ghosh, Vidyabhushan, an eminent linguist and Indologist, was appointed Professor of Pali on the 1st August 1905 and he continued his services in that capacity till his death in 1939. Sri Bishnucharan Bhattacharyya, B. A. (Hons. in Pali), M. A. (Bengal) who was appointed Professor of Bengali on the 1st February 1922, also rendered his partial services in the Interme-

diate and the Degree classes as a successful Professor of Pali. Subsequently, the college was granted extension of affiliation in Pali Honours in 1934 and a lady student named Usha Rani DasGupta was the first regular student to secure Honours in Pali from the Vidyasagar College in 1936.

Sri Niradranjan Mutsuddi, M. A., the well-known author of Pali Grammar, who was the Senior Teacher of Pali in the Collegiate schools (Metropolitan Main and Burrabazar Branch), was appointed part-time Assistant Professor of Pali in July 1934 for this purpose. After the death of Pandit A. C. Vidyabhushan, Sri N. R. Mutsuddi, M. A. was appointed whole-time Professor of Pali and he continued his services in the college till his retirement in 1953. Sri Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee, M. A., P. R. S., Professor of Sanskrit, an eminent scholar in Prakrit, was also entrusted with the teaching of Prakrit in the Pali classes. After the retirement of Prof. N. R. Mutsuddi, the Pali classes in the Intermediate and Degree stages were totally abolished from the college which was the only private Institution in Bengal, accommodating Pali studies upto the Honours standard.

Feni College (Noakhali)

Affiliation in Pali upto the B. A. (Pass) standard was sought for in 1929 and it was granted in time. Accordingly, Mr. Lalit Kumar Barua, M. A. (Gold Medalist) was appointed Professor of Pali on the 16th August, 1929 and he carried on his teaching work in Pali single-handed in all the four classes most satisfactorily for over fifteen years.

City College

The college was affiliated upto the B. A. Pass standard in Pali during the session 1932-33. Mr. Debabrata Chakrabarti, M. A. (Gold Medalist), formerly Tutor in Pali, Rangoon University College, joined the college as Professor of Pali in July 1932. He was assisted in the teaching of Pali by Mr. Nirmal Chandra Barua, M. A. (Silver Medalist),

Senior Teacher of Pali, in the collegiate school. He used to take his classes on every Saturday after school-hours, for the benefit of Pali students. Mr. D. Chakrabarti, who served the Institution as Professor of Pali for nearly 28 years, died in 1960 and after his death the teaching of Pali was discontinued in the college.

Ripon College (Surendra Nath College)

As Pali gradually gained popularity in Calcutta, the authorities of the Ripon College decided to open Pali classes upto the Degree standard. The College was granted affiliation in Pali upto the B. A. (Pass) standard from the commencement of the session 1936-37. Mr. Jyotish Chandra Ghatak, M. A. (Triple) joined the college as Professor of Pali and he continued his services in that capacity for several years.

Sir Ashutosh College, Kanungopara (Chittagong)

The College received University recognition from June 1939. It had been granted affiliation in Pali upto the Intermediate standard and Mr. Surendranath Barua, M. A., was appointed Professor of Pali. This was the second Private College in East Bengal before (independence) which provided facilities to the students for learning Pali upto the Intermediate course.

Maharaja Manindra Chandra College

It was established as a first grade college in 1941. The college received affiliation in Pali upto the Intermediate standard along with other usual subjects. Mr. Prabhash Chandra Majumdar, M. A., Suttavisārada, joined the college as Professor of Pali and he continued to serve the college in that capacity till the end of the session 1955-56. It was due to the persistent effort of Prof. P. C. Majumdar for several years that the college secured extension of affiliation in Pali upto the B.A. (Pass) standard during the session 1952-53. After Prof. Majumdar

had been appointed University Lecturer in Pali, due to the retirement of Mr. Gokuldas De, in August 1955, Mr. Sukumar Sen Gupta, M. A., Suttavisārada, was appointed in his place as Professor of Pali in July 1956. After Prof. Sengupta had joined the University as whole-time Lecturer in Pali, Mr. Kanailal Hazra, M. A. (Gold Medalist), LL. B. served the college as Professor of Pali for a short period before his departure to Ceylon for higher studies and in the long run the study of Pali discontinued in the College after its duration for more than two decades.

Ramthakur College, Agartala.

This is the only College outside Calcutta which has been maintaining successfully the teaching of Pali up to the B. A. Pass standard since the foundation of the college in 1967. Mr. Manotosh Karmakar, M. A., the recipient of the N. N. Law Gold Medal (1959), was the first Professor of Pali at the initial stage. Gradually the strength of the teaching staff in Pali was enhanced by the temporary appointment of Mr. Priyatosh Barua, M. A. as Lecturer in Pali. Afterwards, Jnankirti Sraman M. A. (Gold Medalist) joined the College as the second Professor of Pali in 1976. The progress in Pali studies in the college in recent years has been sufficiently gained. The numerical strength of the Pali students, though insignificant in the past, shows a marked tendency to increase. It is gradually swelling up and has almost reached 150 in number, from the negligible number in the past ranging from 20 to 25. The gradual popularity of the subject in the college may be traced to the efforts and patronage extended to the cause of Pali learning by the late Principal, Dr. Rabindra Nath Das, M. A., P. R. S., Ph., D, who started the Pali classes at the very beginning and took the responsibility of the teaching work in Pali in spite of his multifarious duties to be performed as administrative Head of the Institution.

Pali is also a very popular subject in the Ramthakur H. S. school where Dr. Buddhadatta Bhikkhu, M. A. Ph. D, Tripiṭaka-viśārada, is in the charge of Pali studies.

Inclusion of Pali and Buddhism in the Syllabi of Allied Subjects

(i) Indian Vernaculars (Bengali, Hindi, Maithili, Oriya, Gujrati, Assamese, Urdu) or Modern Indian Languages.

When the Syllabuses were drawn up for Indian Vernaculars, Pali found a place in the list of basic languages which included the following —Prakrit, Pali and Persian. The candidates were to select any two of these languages included in Paper VII carrying 100 (50+50) marks for the M. A. Examination which came into effect for the first time in 1920. Subsequently Pali was included along with Prakrit (as MIA course of study) in the first half of Paper II carrying 50 (25+25) marks according to the revised M. A. Syllabuses for Modern Indian Languages which came into effect from the examination of 1941 (C.U. Proceedings of the Council, 1919-1924, C.U. Calendar 1942).

(ii) Comparative Philology :- Pali also formed a most important subject for post-graduate study in Comparative Philology and it was included in the Syllabus for Indo-Aryan Branch which may be stated below :

M. A. Course :

Paper IV (carrying 100 marks)—Historical Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali and Prakrits)—(Proceedings of the Council, 1919-1924 ; 1935)

B. A. Course :

It may be further stated that Pali was also included as an alternative subject in the Honours Syllabus for B.A. Linguistics :

Paper IV—Grammar of one of the following Languages treated comparatively and historically—English, Sanskrit, Pali and Persian (C.U. Proceedings—1935)

(iii) Sanskrit

Pali was included for the first time (along with Buddhist Sanskrit) by M.M. Vidhusekhar Sastri during his Professorship as a part of the course prescribed for Group H (Prakrit) in the revised Syllabus of M. A. Sanskrit, in view of the fact that dissociation of the

study of Pali as well as Buddhist Sanskrit from the study of Prakrit should be always considered as inadequate for proper specialization in Prakrit. The revised Syllabus (in relation to Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit), which came into effect from the examination of 1941, may be stated thus :

Group H-Prakrit

Paper VI—Second Half

Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit

50 (25+25) marks

Paper VIII—First Half

Pali Grammar

20 marks

(IV) Ancient Indian History and Culture

The importance of the study of Buddhism which forms an integral part of Indian Culture, was fully appreciated by the University authorities and they included 'History of Buddhism' as one of the subjects in the syllabus of Group III (Religious History, Paper VII) prescribed for the M. A. Examination in Ancient Indian History which came into operation from the commencement of the academic session 1918-1919 (C.U. Proceedings of the Council 1919, ff 173-175)

(V) Philosophy

This important branch of study was also included by the Board of Higher Studies in Philosophy in the M. A. Course for Philosophy. Buddhist Philosophy formed an important part of the Syllabus prescribed for the Compulsory Paper III (Outlines of Indian Philosophy) in the M.A. Subject entitled 'Mental and Moral Philosophy'. In course of time the scope of the syllabus was further widened so as to include Buddha-Jaina Group among the optional subjects of study relating to special Branch of Indian Philosophy (C.U. Proceedings of the Council, 1919, 1925 and 1935)

Doctorate Degree

It was in 1908 that the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred for the first time by the University upon two distinguished scholars, viz. Mahamahopadhyaya Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan (of the Pali and Sanskrit Departments) and Abdullah Suhrawardy, for their respective outstanding works in the field of Ancient Indian Logic

and in the field of Mahomedan Jurisprudence. Later on, Bimala Churn Law was the first alumnus of the Department who obtained the highest academic degree of Ph. D. (in Arts) from the Calcutta University in 1924 on his work entitled "Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India". In the following year Nalinaksha Datta was awarded the Ph. D. degree by the Calcutta University on his Thesis entitled "The spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools." Then after a long interval of about two decades, Anukul Chandra Banerjee, another bonafide student of the Department, submitted his Thesis entitled "Sarvāstivāda Literature," for which he was awarded this academic honour in 1945. The example set by Dr. Banerjee was followed from year to year thereafter by batches of young scholars who came forward to submit the results of their research on various aspects of Buddhism for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is a matter of congratulation that more than 27 scholars have so far been awarded Ph. D. degrees (in Arts) under the supervision of Prof. A.C. Banerjee, Dr. Sukumar Sen Gupta, Prof. D. K. Barua, Dr. Prabodh Narayan Singh, and Dr. Kanai Lal Hazra.

A few distinguished alumni of the Department also proceeded to England, Germany and Ceylon in order to qualify themselves with research degrees of the foreign Universities. Besides the two distinguished Professors of the Department who had been admitted to the highest academic degree (D. Litt.) in the University of London, we may mention the names of Jinananda Bhikshu (B. Jinananda) and Anil Chandra Pal, who were admitted to the Ph. D. degree of the London University for their research works in different spheres, the former in the field of Vinaya Literature and the latter in the field of Archaeology. The Dr. Phil degree was also awarded to Biswanath Banerjee by the University of Munich for his Thesis on a Kalacakrayāna Text. Kanai Lal Hazra was the next scholar who was admitted to the Ph. D. degree of the University of Ceylon in the year 1968 for his Thesis entitled "Religious Intercourse among the Theravāda countries in South-east Asia."

It should be further noted in this connection that Dr. Bimala Churn Law was awarded the D. Litt degree of Lucknow University in 1942 on his Thesis entitled "India as described in early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism."

Award of P.R.S

* Prof. Nalinaksha Datta was the first bonafide alumnus of the Department who was awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship in 1920 for his dissertation on the "Four Buddhist Schools" Within a few years his example was emulated by another Pali scholar, Ramaprasad Chaudhury who stepped into his shoes in this direction and obtained P.R.S. on the basis of his researches on the subject entitled "Women in Pali literature." Subsequently some of the young teachers also ventured to submit their respective dissertations for P.R.S. Mention should be made of these distinguished teachers, who were awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship, viz., Suniti Kumar Pathak (Lecturer Visvabharati), Binayendra Nath Chaudhury (Asst. Prof. Sanskrit College), *Dipak Kumar Barua (Professor, Department of Pali, C.U.) and *Rabindra Nath Das (Principal, Tripura Govt. Sanskrit College).

* Also Mouat Gold Medalist.

Griffith Memorial Prize :

Dr. Bimala Charan Law, an exstudent of the Department, was the first recipient of the Griffith Memorial Prize (in 1931) on his dissertation entitled "The Pali Pitakas—Chronology and General History", submitted for the above award. Next it was Dr. Asha Das who obtained the prize (in 1969) on her dissertation entitled "Bauddha Dharma O Rabindranath" written in Bengali. After a few years Dr. Rabindranath Basu also won the Griffith Prize for his researches relating to Buddhist Sangha.

Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Gold Medal

Dr. Bimala Charan Law is known to have been the only alumnus of the Department upto now who submitted his Thesis entitled "Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective" for Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Medal for 1924 and he was awarded the medal in due time.

Eshan Scholar

Mr. Sudhindra Nath Chakrabarty is the only Eshan scholar who appeared with Honours in Pali from the Presidency College at the B.A. Examination 1927 and topped the list of all successful Honours graduates of the year.

Kamalrani Gold Medal

It is gratifying to note that two bonafide lady students (Sm Subhra Sengupta and Sm. Manikuntala Halder) were awarded the Kamalrani Gold Medal for having obtained the highest number of marks (in the First class) among all the lady students appearing at the respective M.A. Examinations.

N. N. Law Gold Medal for Pali Studies

Two Medals inscribed with the name of the eminent scholar N. N. Law were awarded to the best successful Pali students appearing at the Matriculation and I. A Examinations. Dr. Rabindra Nath Basu, an alumnus of this Department is the first recipient of this Medal appearing at the Matriculation Examination in 1951 from the Rani Bhabani School.

Nalinaksha Dutt Scholarship

Prof. N. Dutt used to deposit Rs. 800/- every month from his salary for sometime to create an endowment for the annual award of a monthly Scholarship (Rs 50/-) for a meritorious P. G. student of Pali. Since the award of this Scholarship, the students of this Department have been availing themselves of the opportunity of obtaining this scholarship from year to year.

B. C. Law Gold Medal

The B. C. Law Memorial Medal was awarded, by his wife Mrs. K. K. Law to Sm. Gayatri Das Gupta, M A. in Pali (Class I) in the year 1959 for her efficiency in Pali Literature.

Distinguished Pali Ex-Students of the University

It will not be going out of the way to refer in this connection to some of the notable teachers of the past and the present associated with Universities outside Calcutta and abroad. The names of such distinguished alumni of the Pali Department are as follows :—

Sri Charandas Chatterjee M.A. (formerly Professor and Head of the Dept. of Indian History, Lucknow University and Ex-Professor, Gorakhpur University) ; Sri Ramaprasad Chaudhury M. A. P. R. S., (formerly Professor of Pali, Baptist College and Ex-Lecturer, University of Rangoon), Sri Debabrata Chakravarti, M.A., (Ex-Tutor, University

College Rangoon), Rev. Anomdarshi Bhikshu, M.A., (Ex-Lecturer, Banaras Hindu University), Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua (Ex-Secretary, P.G Council, Gauhati University), Sri Devaprasad Guha. M.A., Vinaya-visāraḍa (Ex-Lecturer, Class I, University of Rangoon and also Ex-Lecturer, Banaras Hindu University) ; Sri Pramod Ranjan Barua, M A (Cal), M A. (Lond), formerly Principal Chittagong Govt. College, and Ex-Chairman, Deptt. of Oriental Languages, Chittagong University ; Sri Ranadhir Barua, M.A. (Ex-Assistant Professor, Chittagong University) ; Dr. B. Jinananda (Ex-Professor, Dept. of Buddhist Studies, University of Delhi), Dr. Biswanath Banerjee (now Professor of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Visvabharati University), *Dr. (Miss) Sudhamayi Sen Gupta (at present, Reader, Dept. of Buddhist Studies, Delhi University), Dr. Madhusudan Mallick (now, Reader, Dept. of Sans, Pali and Prakrit, Visvabharati University), Sri Suniti Kumar Pathak, M.A., P.R.S., (now Lecturer, Dept. of Tibetan Studies, Visvabharati University) and Dr. Rabindra Vijay Barua (now, Associate Professor, Dacca University) ; and also Sri Pulin Bihari Barua, M.A., M.Lib., (Head of the Dept. of Lib. Science, Burdwan University).

* the first Lady student to obtain the M. A degree in Pali

Besides the above literati of Universities, mention may be made of some of the ex-students who made their mark in the past in other fields of activities and also a few of other alumni who have now distinguished themselves in various walks of life,

The names of such persons may be stated as follows :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behari Mallik, M.A., Ex-Minister, Govt. of British Bengal ; The Hon'ble Mr. Nirmal Chandra Mookerjee, M.A. (Gold-Medalist), L.L.B. Ex-Judge, Calcutta High Court ; The Hon'ble Mr. Maung Thein Maung, who adorned the post of Chief Justice in Burma ; Maung Lu Pe Win, M.A. (Gold-Medalist), who became Superintendent (Director) of Archaeology in Burma ; Sri Sudhindra Nath Chakravarti, (Eshan Scholar), M.A. (Gold Medalist) who held the post of Assistant Curator in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay ; Sri Martanda Pratap Barua, M.A., now Deputy Secretary,, Ministry of Health, Bangladesh ; Dr. Satadal Kumar Kar, one of the eminent Astrologers and a distinguished scholar in Astrological science ; Sri Saurendranath Mitra, M.A. (Gold Medalist), Proprietor, Readers' Corner (publishing firm) and Managing Partner Bodhi Press, who is now Vice-President of the Publishers' and Book-

sellers' Association of Bengal and also the Vice-President of West Bengal Master Printers' Association ; Dr. Lakshman Chandra Sen Gupta, a veteran Sanskrit and Pali Scholar and Professor (Jaminibhushan Astanga Ayurveda College) who has distinguished himself as an eminent Āyurvedic physician in Calcutta ; Sri Debabrata Barua, M. A., Retired Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Govt. of West Bengal ; Sri Gauranga Sundar Chatterji M. A. LL. B., an eminent Lawyer, practising in Calcutta High Court ; Dr. Barindra Nath Barua, Retired Assistant Accountant General, West Bengal and Ex- Deputy Director (Finance) Indian Museum, Calcutta ; Sri Subhuti Ranjan Barua, M. A., Assistant Collector, Central Excise and Land Customs ; and Debapriya Walisingha, Ex-General Secretary, Mahabodhi Society. It is also pertinent to refer here to three more old alumni associated with Pali studies who made some distinct contributions to the widening of our knowledge in respect of ancient Indian language and literature, viz, (1) Mr. Gopaldas Chaudhuri, M. A., B. L. (Zemindar of Sherpur, Mymenshingh in British Bengal), a patron of liberal arts and education, who published a few important Buddhist texts translated into Bengali ; (2) Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Ex-Director, Michila Institute of P. G. Studies and Research, Darbhanga, who edited and published a number of Buddhist and Jain texts in Devanagari script ; and (3) Dr. Udayi Narain Tiwary, a reputed scholar in the field of Linguistic studies.

Foreign Students and Research Scholars in the Department

The University of Calcutta was considered in the past in the adjacent Buddhist countries as an important centre of Buddhist studies conducted on scientific lines. As a matter of fact, Pāli studies in the University attracted a number of young persons (including Buddhist monks) of Burma, Ceylon and Thailand who enrolled themselves from time to time as students in College and University classes in order to pursue their studies with special reference to Pali. Among such students in recent times, mention may be made of a few like, Phra Maha Fuan Bunyotha (Thailand) who obtained his M.A. degree in Pali in 1971 ; Rev Walpola Piyananda, (Sri Lanka), an M.A. in Pali, 1973, who is now the President of the Dharmavijaya Buddhist Society, California, U.S.A. ; and Rev. Walpola Kalyanatissa, a student of the Department, who is a candidate for the ensuing M.A. examina-

tion in Pali. We should also mention in this connection that Mr. J. Perera of Sri Lanka was admitted to the Ph. D. degree of this University in 1967 under the supervision of Prof. Anukul Chandra Banerjee. Phra Maha Fuan Bunyotha, M.A., also obtained the Ph. D. degree in 1977 under the supervision of Prof. A. C. Banerjee.

It may be further noted that Dr. Rabindra Vijay Barua, M.A. Ph.D, Associate Professor Dacca University, joined the Dept. of Pali as U.G.C (Teacher) Fellow in order to carry on advanced investigations in the field of Buddhist studies. During the tenure of his Fellowship (1977-1980) he also assisted in the teaching work of the Department. Prof. Sunanda Barua M.A. of the Govt Women's College in Dacca who had carried on her research work under the supervision of Dr. Sukumar Sen Gupta submitted her Thesis in 1982. At present Dr. Asha Das is supervising the research work of Sri Pranab Kumar Barua. M.A, a Research scholar from Bangladesh, who is expected to submit his Thesis for Ph. D, very shortly. Sri Rebata Priya Barua, M A., another Research scholar (Bangladesh), has been also carrying on his researches for about two years under the guidance of Prof. Dipak Kumar Barua for the Ph. D. degree of this University.

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